A National/International Political organ fighting for the oppressed Black Masses from the Americas to Africa

ARM THE MASSES

"the era of the Masses, people's power which places all authority, wealth and arms in the hands of the People"

A Publication of the December 12th Movement | July/August 1994 | vo. 4, no. 6 | 50¢

An Independent Black Foreign policy

Defining Our Friends and Enemies...

From top going clockwise: Demonstrators protest human rights violations in the US; guerillas from Chiapas, Mexico take up arms for liberation; North Korean soldiers protect their country's sovereignty.

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Special Centerfold on the December 12th Movement

ARM THE MASSES

What we believe:

Revolutionary nationalism and socialism for the Black Nation, forty million Africans captured inside the racist, capitalist USA. The Black Nation is constituted by a distinct history and psychology shaped by racial and national oppression of its people and their resistance to national oppression; a historically-developed land-base concentrated in the southern USA; a common language shaped with its own cultural idiom; a common economic way of life, underdeveloped due to racism. Africans are mainly wage-slaves to capitalism who will never control the means of production, but all are subject to racist exploitation across class lines. The struggle of Africans inside the USA is a human rights struggle for self-determination, national liberation and the freedom to control African people's destiny free of Racism, Capitalism, and Imperialism.

FREEDOM OR DEATH!

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No Justice!

legal news and analysis

Why An Independent Black Foreign Policy?

by Raheem Williams

Some readers of ATM may ask "Why is there a need for an Independent Black Foreign Policy? After all, as US citizens our foreign policy is articulated by the President and Congress. Plus there are a whole series of laws, treaties and conventions that set and implement this foreign policy."

The first problem in this reasoning is the assumption of US citizenship. Admittedly, by law we are US citizens, which basically means we can apply for and obtain US passports. But once we move past that "privilege," take a serious look at what accompanies our supposed citizenship and compare the quality of our lives with that of citizens of European ancestry, there are serious questions concerning the reality of our US citizenship. But this is an issue to be explored more fully in another column.

Let's assume, for sake of argument, that holding a US passport does equal US citizenship. Then US foreign policy should reflect our interests and one expression of that reflection would be in the use of our tax dollars.

Let us look at Africa, the continent of our origin to see if that is true. If we look at the question of foreign aid, we find that the US financial support for Israel is greater than that for all of Africa combined. And of the aid which goes to Africa, nearly 90% goes to the US client state of Egypt alone [Remember that the US rewarded Egypt's willingness to let itself be used in the Gulf War by forgiving it the huge debt owed to the US].

So, for the vast continent of Africa, the presence of 40,000,000 persons of African descent in the US provides no material advantage in their countries receiving the aid necessary to push forward its development. For those who argue, quite correctly, that US "aid" is guaranteed to assure profits by and dependence on the aid donor, an Independent Black Foreign Policy would fight for a "no-strings attached" aid program.

Why is it that tiny Israel can get this amount of aid. Not only is Israel in a strategic location to safeguard US national interests, but the US Jewish population, both those with and without dual (i.e. US and Israeli) citizenship, fight to ensure that US foreign policy recognize and protect the interests of Israel. And in those instances, where thee are conflicts between US foreign policy and Israel's interests, the US Jews, without apology, fight for the latter. This clarity of self-interest on the part of the Jewish population was most recently reflected in the efforts of several US-based Jewish organizations and influential individuals to attain the early release of Jonathan Pollard, a US citizen convicted of spying on the US for Israel. The fact that his activity was treasonous to the US proved no obstacle to their support.

What would be Black people's response to a similar situation? We can answer that by looking at what we, as a people, have done to support our PP/POWs being held in US jails. They are incarcerated because of their work in the Black Liberation Movement. But our dismal degree of support for them does not reflect any understanding of that reality. An Independent Black Foreign Policy would speak to their situation.

Similarly an Independent Black Foreign Policy would address the question of the Reparations owed Africans throughout the Diaspora and on the Continent. An Independent Black Foreign Policy

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The Masses United for Human Rights held a press conference in front of the United Nations to protest the threat of sanctions against North Korea. "We stand firmly in support of the right of nations to sovereignty and self-determination," said Samuel St. George, spokesman for the group.

National Review

Attacks on Voting Rights Act Get Stronger

by Raheem Williams

The Supreme Court ended its session with two decisions against the Voting Rights Act. In a Florida case, the court unanimously ruled that there was no reason that because Dade County is primarily Hispanic there should be a push to maximize the number of Hispanic state legislative districts. This is likely to affect redistricting cases around the country, including New York City, where Hispanics have been seeking another congressional district.

Continuing the recent trend of rejecting the spirit of the Voting Rights Act in favor of narrow interpretations that guarantee continued white rule, the Court ruled that a Georgia county that had a single, all powerful county commissioner, always white, did not have to expand the number of commissioners so that Black people would have some semblance of representation.

Bleckley County and ten other counties in Georgia are the only counties in the United States where a single person controls the county government. No Black person has ever been elected, or even run for office, under the system. A federal appeals court had proposed that a six-member commission elected from five districts would allow a Black person to be elected.

Clarence Thomas, the only Negro on the Supreme Court, has consistently voted against interpretations of the Voting Rights Act which give minorities increased power in the electorial arena.

There are suits being brought across the country challenging various redistricting plans. Given the pattern set by the Court in decisions such as Reno v. Shaw, [that said a district created to empower Black people denied white people their rights], we can expect

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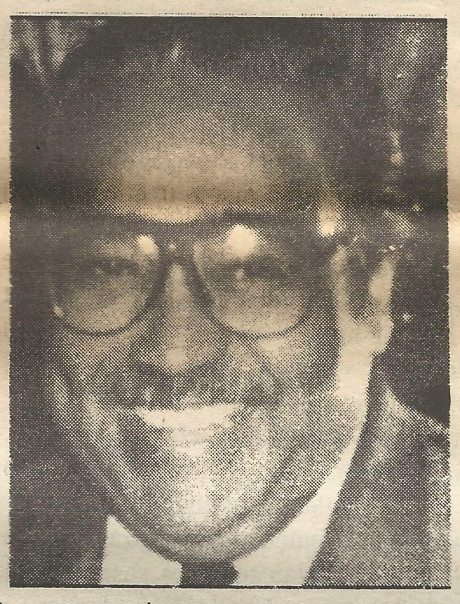
RANGEL: END EMBARGO

by David Haskel
Reprinted from The Daily Challenge



A group of US democratic congressman Thursday renewed their quest to lift the trade embargo on Cuba at a time when Canada and other nations are also seeking an end to sanctions on Havana's Marxist regime.

"It makes less sense than ever before to punish the people of Cuba with an embargo while we go out of our way to promote trade with communist Vietnam and China," Representative Charles Rangel, a

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Black Workers Accuse Navy of Discrimination

Thelma Roby, a civilian metal blasting equipment operator for the Navy, contends she has twice been passed over for promotions for which she was qualified.

Roby, who is Black, believes the reason in both cases was racial.

"If you're not among the chosen ones, you will never, ever get promoted," she said Thursday. "And if you exercise your right to protect your rights, they will... retaliate against you, and you will get nothing."

Roby is among 32 Black workers who have filed a $130 million law suit accusing the Navy of discrimination in the Pensacola area. It was filed May 13th in US District Court here.

The 160-page complaint alleges Blacks have been denied promotions and training, are underrepresented in management, disciplined more severely for similar workplace infractions and required to provide more documentation on job applications.

It also accuses the Navy of discriminating against Blacks because of health conditions while whites with the same or similar conditions get preferential treatment.

Most complaints were against the naval aviation depot...

Roby works at the depot where she is also a union representative. A spokesman for Vice Adm. Robert K.U. Kihune, the highest ranking officer in the Pensacola area as chief of naval education and training, declined comment. It would be inappropriate to comment on pending litigation, said Cmdr. Joe March.

The plaintiffs also accuse the Navy's Human Resources Office, which is responsible for handling employment discrimination complaints, with discriminating. Two of the plaintiffs worked for the office.

The suit is patterned after a similar one against nearby Elgin Air Force Base that was settled for a total of $3.2 million in the 1980s.

US Neighborhoods Need Help Like Third World

by Omowale Clay

The Agency for International Development, widely known as a front for the C.I.A., used foreign aid as a weapon during the cold war. Under the cry of anti-communism, the AID gave massive amounts of money to dictators, while purporting to support immunization, literacy drives and agricultural development. Now the Clinton administration has decided that this mammoth bureaucracy should now be aimed at the inner cities of the US.

The reality of Black and Latino inner city neighborhoods is being compared on an official level to the level of Third World nations. The agency's director, J. Brian Atwood, in discussion with Marian Wright Edelman of the Children's Defense Fund, found that the problems faced in US ghettoes are similar to those found in other Third World situations. For example, the measles immunization rate for inner city children under age 2 was about 40%, whereas countries such as Egypt, the Philippines and India had rates of over 70%. In Baltimore, which is one of the test sites, 150,000 of a population of 730,000 are functionally illiterate.

But even as the "expertise" of the AID begins to be applied to poor neighborhoods, we must remember that the agency's mission abroad was always to suppress the people's own organizing to change their conditions. The aid created dependency and created opportunities to control the countries. Surely the primary mission of the Agency for International Development will be fully implemented here at home just as it was abroad.

International

Erich Honecker 1912-1994

Anti-Fascist fighter and socialist leader

by Dave Silver

Many on the left vilified Erich Honecker as a "hardliner" if not a tyrant. He is held responsible not only for the "wall" but for brutal treatment of those trying to cross over illegally to the west rather than applying for a pass which could easily be obtained from the authorities of the German Democratic Republic, (GDR). This position reflects either ignorance of historical facts, opportunism or anti-communism in any combination.

He was chosen to lead the GDR not only because he was a communist dedicated to the building of a socialist German nation but also because of his courage, commitment and leadership during the resistance to German fascism.

After the defeat of fascism an agreement was signed by all of the victorious allies that no one would unilaterally introduce a new currency. The construction of the "Wall" in 1961 was a response to the introduction of a west German mark. This action could easily have destabilized the socialist economy of the GDR where prices were controlled and many items could be purchased there much more cheaply and taken back to the western zones.

Many on the Left celebrated the tearing down of the wall, the "pro-democracy" movements and in some cases hailed the collapse of Communist led governments in Eastern Europe. With the end of the Cold War and arms race many liberals and progressives anticipated the development of a "libertarian"

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Cuba Protests US Haiti Policy

An official Cuban newspaper denounced Washington's move to use its Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay, on Cuba's southeast tip, to process refugees from neighboring Haiti.

Cuba is the only country to already be accepting Haitian refugees as part of a program by the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees. Over 5,000 people have been granted asylum and resettled under the provisions of the agreement, despite the severe economic crisis in Cuba.

The Clinton administration, like the previous American administrations, has steadfastly violated international norms for the treatment of refugees when it comes to Haitians.

The Guantanamo base had been widely condemned when it was used to house Haitian refugees suspected of being infected with HIV. Under strong pressure it was shut down.

The Cuban weekly trade union newspaper Trabajadores referred to the refugee processing center reopened by President Clinton at the base as a virtual concentration camp and said it had no legitimacy.

"The US authorities continue to behave as though Cuba were not a country that conquered its full independence and sovereignty in January 1959, as though it were still the semi-protectorate of 1902," the article said.

The US forgets "that the Cuban nation rejects the illegal occupation of its territory and the use that [Washington] now wants to give it for US immigration procedures, as though it were a part of US territory," the article added.

Cuba has long denounced the US Naval Base at Guantanamo, which was leased to the US under an agreement in 1903, saying it is illegally occupied territory. Fidel Castro's government has never accepted the yearly payment due for the use of the land.

But even under the terms of the agreement of 1903 and a subsequent one dated 1934, Trabajadores pointed out that the Guantanamo Bay base could only be used for coal or naval activities, not for any other purpose.

Clinton plans to house upwards of **12,000** refugees at the base.

The contrast between Cuba's voluntary resettlement of its neighbors is another indictment of the callous, racist policy of the US government. Since the US's involvement in the coup against President Aristide (which has given rise to the tide of people fleeing brutal repression) is well known, we begin to see a method to the brutal disregard for human rights.

Blacks in Brazil Struggle for Land

A homeless demonstration in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, where 400,000 homes are needed. Photo by Geanne Carvalho/Imagens de Terra/Impact Visuals

Blacks in Brazil have started a major campaign to regain lands stolen from their ancestors by white landlords. A spokesperson for the Unified Black Movement, Valdelio Santos Silva, said the "land is fundamental to us." Blacks were brought to Brazil as slaves about the same time as they were brought to the US as slaves. However, slavery lasted 23 years longer in Brazil. To escape from Brazilian slavery many Blacks who ran away established "quilomobos," communities for runaway slaves. A 1988 change in Brazil's constitution allows for Blacks to claim such lands as rightfully theirs.

Reprinted from Justice Speaks, June 1994

Japanese Police Raid Korean Political Organization

In Kyoto, Japan, hundreds of police raided the homes and 26 offices, including the headquarters, of members of the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan, an organization known as Chongryun. The organization described this attack as "political harassment," an opinion shared by the US Out of Korea Committee.

Sue Bailey, chairperson of the US Out of Korea Committee, said, "this is not the first attack by Japanese police on Chongryun. In fact, it is an escalation of attacks on the Korean community living in Japan. We demand that the Japanese government stop the racist attacks.

"The whole world should remember how Koreans first came to Japan. They were not immigrants fleeing economic or political repression. They were brought as slave laborers to Japan's war industry."

"And Korean women were forced to serve as sex slaves for the Japanese Imperial Army. Rather than raiding the homes and organizations of Korean people, the Japanese government should be paying reparations to the Korean people who suffered not only during World War II, but from 35 years of Japanese colonialism."

The Kyoto police said the raid was based on "mistaken calculations, but they refused to return materials seized from the homes and offices of the Korean residents.

African Women in the US Prepare for UN Meetings

Black women in the United States are organizing for the UN Conference on Development to be held in Cairo in September 1994 as well as the UN Women's Conference scheduled to occur in Beijing in September 1995. In prepatory meetings, they are pulling together an agenda. "For too long, people have been speaking for us; we intend to speak for ourselves," said Glennes Bryant of the Harriet Tubman-Fannie Lou Hamer Collective at a recent organizing meeting.

New York, New York

Police Stand Off on Farmer's Market

by Louis Reyes Rivera

Over the last three months Bedford-Stuyvesant has been the site of an uneasy stand-off between the 79th Precinct and the operators of a street corner farmer's market. Since late April, the police have been trying to close the market down, but community response and the activists who have been operating the market for the last six years have collectively forced police to back down.

The Afrikan People's Farmers Market, as it is called, was established in 1988 by members of the Harriet Tubman/Fannie Lou Hammer Collective and the December 12th Movement as a weekly fresh air farmer's market on the corner of Macon and Nostrand, across from the old Girls High School. Every Saturday morning since 1988, a crew of men and women, ranging in age from 18 to 53, arrives in trucks and cars. The crew sweeps up and hoses down the entire Brooklyn sidewalk, puts up a portable tent and tables, neatly stacks an array of crates and boxes full of fresh fruits and vegetables and opens up for a Saturday of business. Right alongside the blue colored tent is usually seen a red, black and green banner waving with the breeze. The people who operate this particular market are on a mission that grew out of a series of mounting racial incidents between Asian grocers and African American customers. One such example of these tensions took place in 1988, when an elderly Caribbean woman shopping along Fulton Street had stopped at a Korean produce store, Tropical Fruits, near Nostrand Avenue, to continue her shopping. While she was browsing along the aisles, one of the Korean workers there quickly assumed she was attempting to steal what she came to buy and demanded that she submit to a search of her shopping bags, including her handbag. The woman refused. Forcing themselves upon her, several of the workers seized her bags, knocked her down and proceeded to beat on her, at one point even threatening her and her

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June 16, 1994 was celebrated internationally as the Day of the African Child, in commemoration of the massacre of children in Soweto, South Africa on June 16, 1976. The Masses United For Human Rights held a special program for children in the Bronx to introduce them to Pan Africanism and the rights of all African children to development. The youth of the Young, Gifted and Black Program and their parents participated in the cultural/educational evening. UN events were coordinated by Djbril Diallo, Special Assistant to the Director of UNICEF.

POLICE CORRUPTION UPDATE

The Mollen Commission investigating police corruption found that under Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward, interim Police Commissioner Richard J. Condon, Police Commissioner Lee P. Brown and Police Commissioner Raymond W. Kelly the New York Police Department's systems for preventing corruption virtually collapsed and were "more likely to minimize or conceal corruption than uncover and uproot it."

While the Mollen Commission reviewed a decade of police corruption, the only difference it found from the Knapp Commission hearings in the seventies, when Serpico "blew the whistle" on police corruption, was that the police had gotten more criminal. The Mollen Commission found that gangs of officers took bribes to protect drug dealers, became dealers and thieves themselves, terrorized neighborhoods with raids to capture drugs and guns, planted drugs and money and guns on people to make arrests, and sold back to the community the drugs and guns they were paid by the community to keep off the streets.

Michael Dowd, being protrayed as the most terrible figure in the press, did nothing different from scores of police who have been charged. In 1986 he was accused of stealing from drug dealers, prisoners and the dead. In 1986-87 he was investigated for using excessive force against a prisoner. In 1988 he was accused in three separate complaints of frequenting a drug location, taking money from drug dealers, drinking and using drugs in a stereo store. In 1988 another investigation started on charges he was dealing

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Welfare Recipients Criminalized

by Glennes Bryant

Governor Mario Cuomo of New York State continued to move to the right politically, shifting with the conservative tide. He has decided to have all welfare recipients in New York State who receive "home relief", about 300,000 single men and women, fingerprinted. Children and their parents who receive assistance under the federal Aid to Families with Dependent Children would be exempt because it is a federal program under different guidelines.

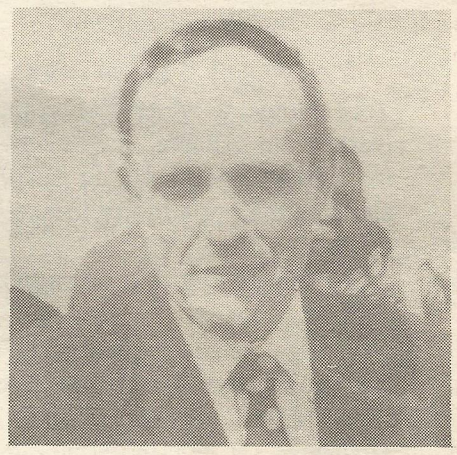
Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver pointed out that not a single case of welfare fraud has been detected during the experimental program run in two counties.

Furthermore, most studies have not found that fraud is a significant factor in welfare costs, and are negligible as a cost of government. But facts are irrelevant in this debate. Mayor Adolf Guiliani, who is of course a strong advocate of fingerprinting all welfare recipients, alleged that New York City alone would save $89 million next year if the program was adopted. A state report that agreed to fingerprinting estimated that only $46 million would be saved.

Mayor Adolf Giuliani is a strong advocate of fingerprinting welfare recipients; this makes being poor enough to need welfare a crime in itself.

The fingerprinting of all recipients makes being poor enough to need welfare a crime in itself. The criminals who receive welfare because their companies have gone into default due to poor management will not be fingerprinted. The criminals who steal by living rent free and not declaring a gift for tax purposes (Guiliani's campaign aides were given months of free rent by controversial real estate tycoon Koeppel) will not be fingerprinted. The bankers who loan money to themselves and their friends, deny minority communities loans and then allow tax money to pay when the banks go into foreclosure will not fingerprinted.

The crime is poverty. Cuomo has joined the bandwagon that the presumption of innocence, the right to privacy, the human right to a decent quality of living, are things to be taken from the poor by the stroke of a pen.



Giuliani: Dyson's Watermelon Remarks Are Not Racist...

John Dyson, deputy mayor for economic development, dismissed City Comptroller Alan Hevesi's proposed use of P.G. Corbin, a highly respected Black-owned Philadelphia based firm which had done business with the city before, by saying that Hevesi should know the difference between a bid and a watermelon. Giuliani said this was

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Today's Youth, Tomorrow's Revolution

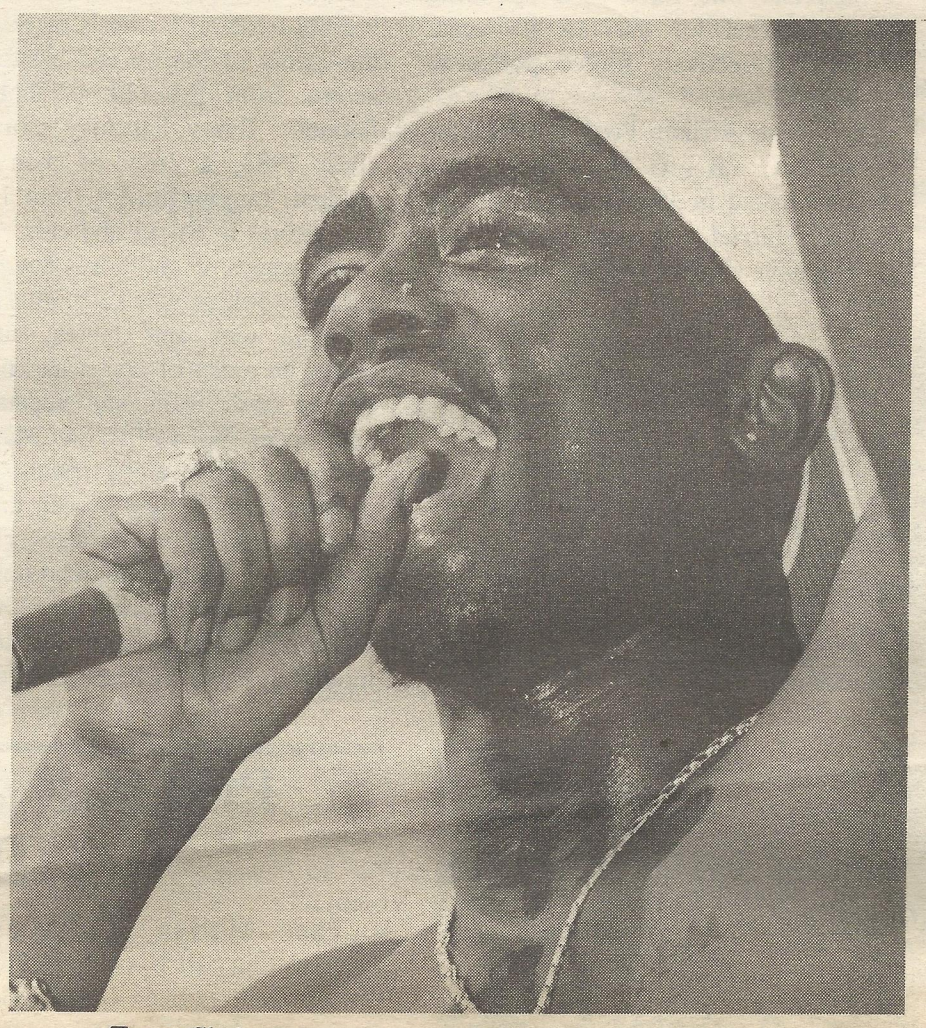
In Our Streets, THE CODE, *Is Coming!*

by Amadi Ajamu

On Saturday, June 18th, 1994, thousands of Black youth attended a rap concert/rally at Roy Wilkins Park in South Jamaica, Queens where Tupac Shakur introduced "THE CODE" of the streets. The concert also brought together many other rappers and entertainers such as Fat Joe; Freedom Williams, (formerly of CC Music Factory); Michael Bennett, (boxing champion); Armed & Dangers; Gangs of Funk; Baby Dee; Sparkle and Ghost.

The rap rally's purpose was to put "THE CODE" into the streets. It calls for a "cease fire" and the implementation of concrete guidelines in the relationship between hustlers and community residents. THE CODE calls for no more random shootings, no drug dealing near schools, no drive by shootings, no shootings at parties, and no snitching.

Tupac urged the masses of Black youth to raise their consciousness and respect the community that they live in. He said, "The code of conduct must be put in effect!" and that "Black youth are the only one who can do it." The crowd chanted, ***"THE CODE! In Our Streets!"*** throughout the rally.

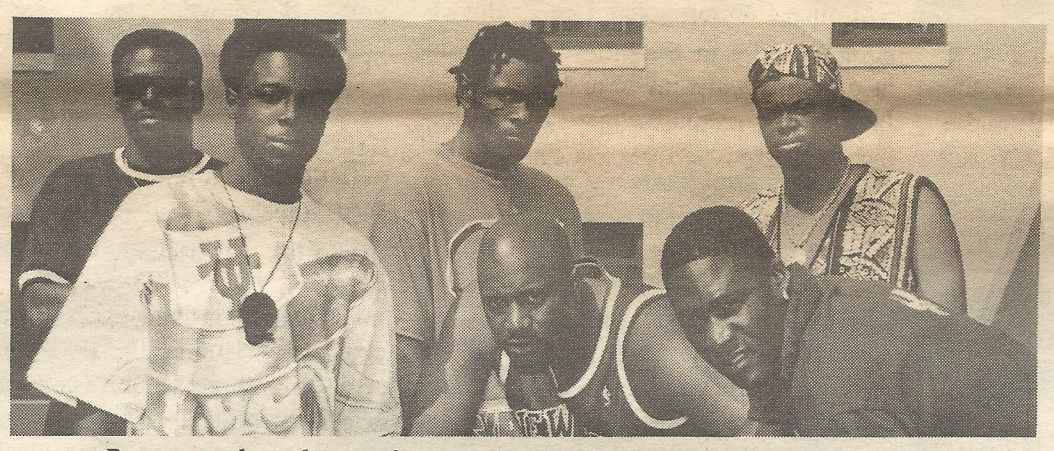


Tupac Shakur at concert puts The Code to the streets.

The rally's volunteer security force wore black t-shirts with "In Our Streets, THE CODE, is coming" printed in bold black lettering. Brothers from S.W.A.M., a local Masjid; volunteers organized by Justice Allah; brothers and sisters from the Brotherhood and the Masses United for Human Rights joined forces and made sure there was not one incident of violence, no fighting, no drugs in the park that day. The security volunteers enforced THE CODE, thereby exhibiting to the thousands of youth in attendance that THE CODE was not some abstract ideal, but a concrete guideline to be put into practice.

The rap rally kicked off a citywide campaign geared towards popularizing THE CODE and creating a grassroots effort to control our own communities and set a standard of respect, unity and consciousness.

The Code - In Our Streets



Rappers such as these and many other people came together to make the day.

Audience responds to the call to end the destruction

45% of Black children are below the poverty line while only 16% of white children are...

Students Respond to Challenge - Not Special Ed

by Olive Armstrong

Georgia Institute of Technology, a white institution of learning in Atlanta, has taken the lead in giving Black and Hispanic students the opportunity to excel in science.

Understanding that our students are ill prepared for college and especially science, Georgia Tech five years ago decided to change their policy towards Blacks and Hispanics, at the initiative of the Office of Minority Education Development.

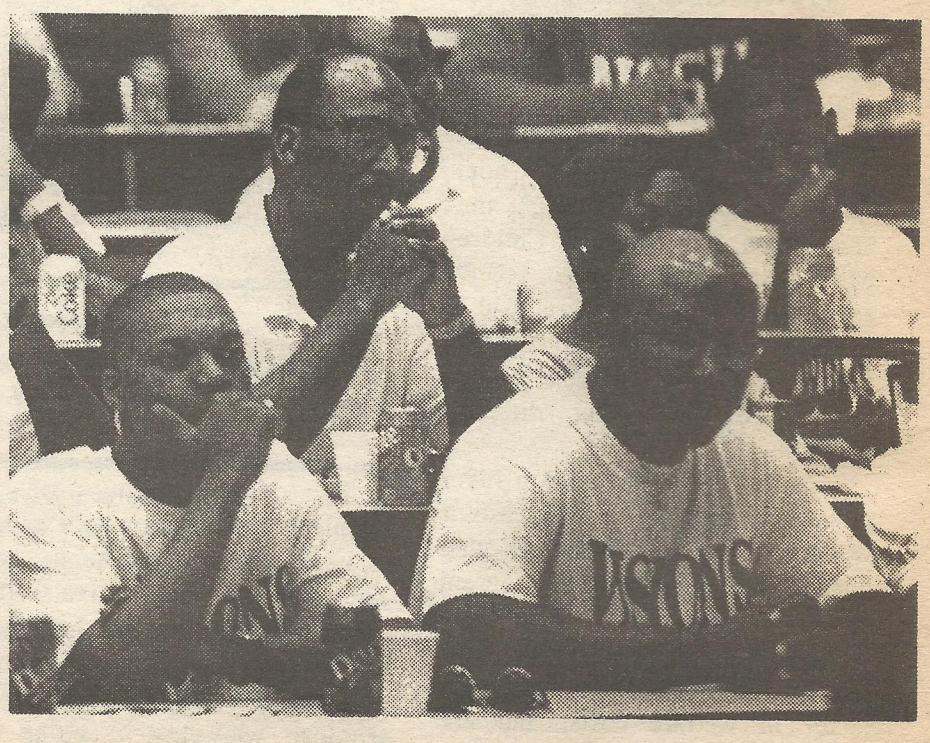
They got rid of the remedial program and instituted a **Challenge Program**. Remedial programs were instituted to make our youth feel inferior, to tell them that they were unable to learn and to keep them in school for at least one extra year when the colleges were able to extract more money from these poor families.

It was only after the struggles of Black people in the 1950s and 1960s that white colleges were made to open their doors to Black and Hispanic students at all, and to prove to these students that they were inferior they were placed in remedial classes.

This change of attitude at Georgia Tech did not come about because they had to admit that our students are talented and continue to excel in spite of the obstacles put in their way but rather because this gave them an edge over other schools.

Our children are shafted from the time they enter into the public education system. The majority of them are placed in Special Education classes to guarantee failure. Some of them are able to push themselves up and out of this system of miseducation and enter colleges where the lack of educational training follows them and makes it almost impossible for them to succeed.

Remedial classes in college are the continuation of Special Ed classes in elementary schools. Once our children are placed in Special Education classes from pre-kindergarten on up, they are tracked throughout the system and this follows them all the way through to college, which they leave ill-prepared to enter the job market.



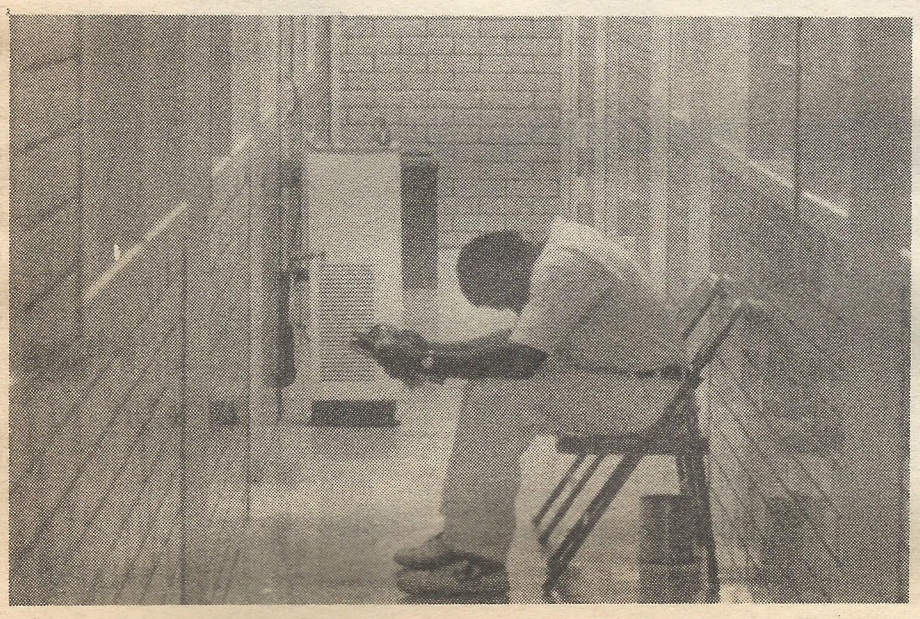
Students at Georgia Tech.

Political Prisoners

Abdul Haqq "The Struggle Continues!"

Peace and love mighty, wise African people.

In spite of the statistical evidence that recidivism rate of prisoners who earn college degrees is only 17 percent while that of prisoners who do not participate in any educational programs is 80 percent, the US government is taking Pell Grant Funding for college education away from prisoners. This measure is attached to the crime bill, whose well-advertised ostensive objective is to stop crime.



I have initiated a strategic response to this Klan-like policy of communicating the need for prisoners to develop their own self-determined college curriculums. I am writing a book that explains my ideas for designing such curriculums.

During a cell search conducted on June 1, 1994, two prison guards confiscated a piece of artwork from my cell that contained the design for the cover of my book. The design depicted four New African freedom fighters. (The book's title is *The Educated Black Man's Liberation Front.*)

The guards claimed that my book cover was an insignia for an unauthorized gang or organization and that as such it violated Rule 105.12 of the NY Department of Correction. (Actually no organization by that name exists). They also confiscated 25 library books that were loaned to me by the college coordinator in order for me to do research in pursuance of my B.A. degree in August (with a GPA of 3.98). When questioned, the college coordinator verified that he had loaned me the books, yet, the guards charged me with stealing the books anyway (as per DOC 116.10: "Inmates shall not steal state property). The guards willfully made a false misbehavior report and the lieutenant who reviewed the charges gave them a Tier III status, thus classifying them among the most serious in a Tier III ranking system.

This ridiculous episode is relevant to the Black liberation movement: Robbing prisoners of our right to a program that men died for at Attica. It is similar in essence to the Ku Klux Klan's burning down freed men's schools after Reconstruction. And the gut response of these turnkeys - whose functions of locking and unlocking doors can be performed by monkeys - to the idea of liberating Black people through education, fits squarely in the demented category of right-wing repressiveness and fascist capriciousness.

My book, *The Educated Black Man's Liberation Front*, is the centerpiece of a project I have been promoting with the help of my sisters and brothers in the December 12th Movement. I have named it the Malcolm X/George Jackson Education Movement. We are advancing the book and the movement to provide a conceptual framework that deploys an emerging strategy of proliferating self-determined educational programs for prisoners on a national level to eviscerate the draconian plan that originated in the rabid mind of the straight up racist, Jesse Helms.

A prison cell is a university. Brother Malcolm (BKA el Hajj Malik al Shabazz) said that there are two places where a Black man will be educated - in the university and in prison. Malcolm X and George Jackson are models who prove that the oppressed can be educated in prison independent of the system and achieve high degrees of knowledge and understanding and maintain lofty standards of excellence that equals or surpasses any Ph.D. And such education is made effective by the pure interpretation of reality communicated by the drumbeat and heartbeat of Africa.

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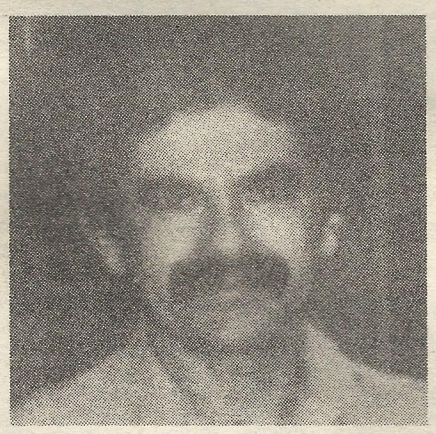
Thirteen Years Older With No Oscar

by Aracelis Lugo Lopez

How would you feel if you had someone in jail who has not committed a crime; someone who has been tortured and denied the most simple things because he has decided to fight for his beliefs? Someone who's integrity in these beliefs goes beyond being judged by laws that jeopardize his political struggle? If this is a crime then all those who are involved in any war are criminals for fighting for their beliefs, territory and freedom.

My uncle, Oscar Lopez Rivera, has been in jail for approximately 13 years. He was sentenced to and has actually served more time than most social criminals. He fought for 2 1/2 years in the Vietnam War and defended the United States' beliefs, a flag that wasn't his and was considered a hero. Yet, when he fought for the independence of Puerto Rico, his own cause, he was labeled a terrorist, persecuted, incarcerated and tortured.



In prison his human rights have been constantly violated. He has been deprived of everything that is necessary for a person to keep his mental and physical stability. When I visit him, which is only about every three or four years due to the fact that he is incarcerated in the United States and I live in Puerto Rico, I am put through an entire checkup process only to be able to see him through a glass and talk to him by phone. He is strip-searched before and after our visit, even though I am never allowed to touch or embrace him. In how many ways must a person be punished so that the institution feels satisfied with their work?

My grandmother just turned 78 years old. I ask myself how she has survived the torture of having a son first in Vietnam and then in jail. As the years have gone by, her birthday wish has remained the same: "I wish to see my son free again before I die." As the years go by I see her getting older and feel helpless because she is not able to stop time so that her wish can come true. Many times I have lived in my mind the moment that my uncle walks into my house with the same smile I remember as a child. When I face reality, I find myself 13 years older with no Oscar.

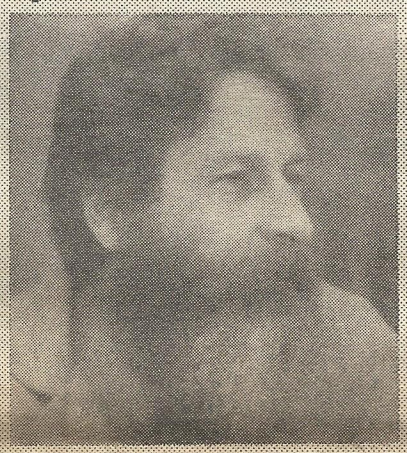
When he fought for the independence of Puero Rico, his own cause, he was labeled a terrorist.

US Government Holds Ramirez Talavera

After completing his five year prison sentence, Puerto Rican Political Prisoner Norman Ramirez Talavera was taken to a hearing on April 1st regarding his $50,000 fine. At the hearing, the court contradicted an earlier ruling declaring Norman and, the other Hartford defendants, indigent.

The court ruled that if he was incapable of paying the fine he was to remain in custody, working the fine off at $1.00 per hour - this roughly translates to another 14 years in prison for Norman. The only other suggestion that the court gave Norman at the hearing, which was held in English, with no translator or lawyer provided, was that his wife sell their home.

Ramirez was finally released after serving several more weeks in prison.



Tommy Manning

Political Prisoners Win PEN Awards

North American Political Prisoner Tom Manning, incarcerated in the Marion Control Unit, won an honorable mention award in the 1993 Writing Awards for Prisoner of the Poets, Essayists and Novelists (PEN) American Center. Also winning awards were North American Political Prisoners Judy Clark, second place in poetry and Susan Rosenberg, second place in Fiction. Congratulations to all!

Judy Clark

Susan Rosenberg

Culture As A Weapon

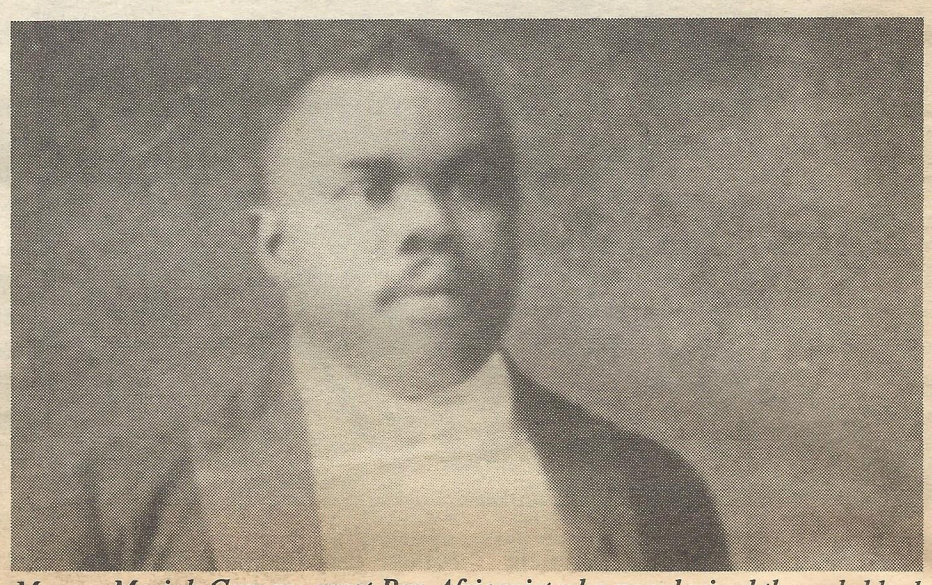
AUGUST 17, 1994 - FLAG DAY

The Red Blood of Black Men to Free the Green Land of Africa!

Marcus Garvey
UNIA Cathecism of the African Orthodox Church

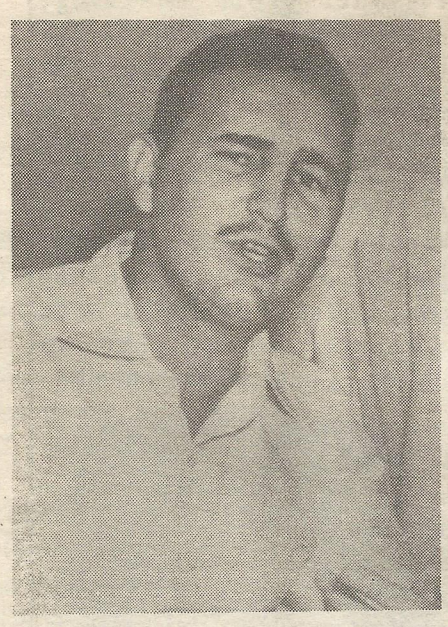
Ron Daniels, long time activist in nationalist circles, has proposed that on August 17th, 1994, the Black Liberation flag be flown throughout our communities. August 17th is the birthday of Marcus Mosiah Garvey, who created the red, black and green flag.

Various activities will be taking place in honor of Marcus Garvey through out the day, but even if you are unable to attend any of them, wear a red, black and green pin, or bandanna, or button; tie a flag to your car, outside your window, on your desk; explain to a neighbor what the flag stands for and share a little of our history.



Marcus Mosiah Garvey, great Pan Africanist who popularized the red, black and green flag.

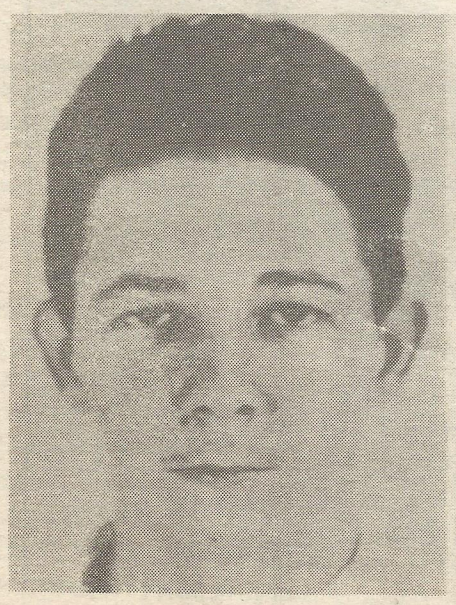
The Cuban Revolution is Born: Attack on the Moncada



Castro just before his sentencing.

On July 26, 1953 a group of men and women led by Fidel Castro attacked the Moncada Barracks in Oriente Province in Cuba, the first of many expeditions which declared the start of the Cuban revolution. Many lives were lost; Castro and several of the survivors were captured and imprisoned. They were later released by amnesty and the revolutionary struggle continued under the leadership of Fidel until victory was won. The Moncada is symbolic of the will of the Cuban people to overcome defeat and to continue to struggle for liberation and freedom of their beloved homeland.

From left to right, Fulgenio Batista, Cuban dictator overthrown by Castro, Andres del Castillo, a government official, and Richard Nixon, then vice president of the US. The US backed the corrupt and repressive Batista regime, a haven for the Mafia.



Prison identification photographs of Raul Castro and Juan Almeida

Melba Sanchez and Haydee Santamaria in their cell after the attack.

Harriet Tubman

Conversation with Brig. Hashim I. Mbita

Retired chairperson of the OAU Liberation Support Committee

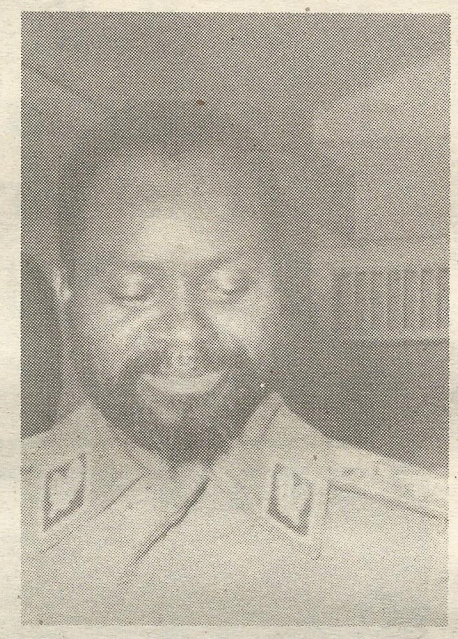
"Amilcar Cabral, our theoretician." Guinea-Bisseau

"The first organ of the Organization of African Unity was the Liberation Committee; the colonies held by overseas interests had to be liberated." To internationalize this idea the OAU designated May 25th as "African Liberation Day", said Brig. Hashim I. Mbita.

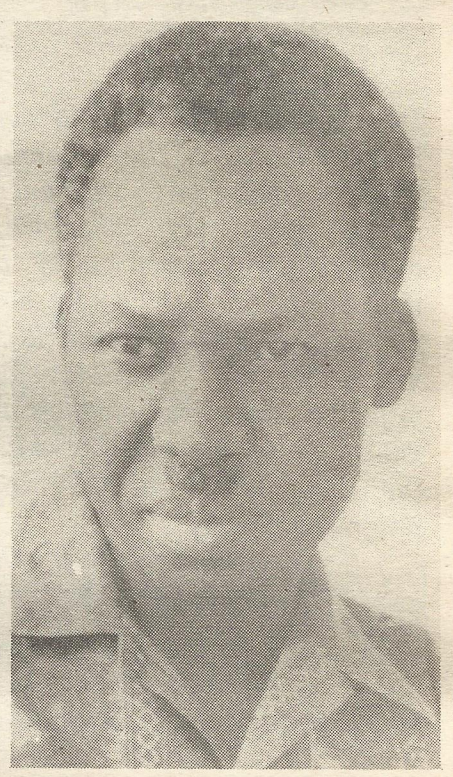
The December 12th International Secretariat had the opportunity to discuss the career of the general of the liberation forces fighting for independence in Africa. Brig. Mbita described his career as he contemplated his impending retirement.

"There were many and varied - careers, endeavors; I served under President Nyerere when he began the co-op movement - Ujaama. I studied journalism at Columbia School of Journalism." For a time he wrote for various papers in other parts of Africa. Subsequently he went back to Tanzania and served in the Army. He trained under the British and was commissioned a brigadier general. President Nyerere appointed him to head the Liberation Committee formed by the OAU. As the head of the liberation committee, "I had the confidence of all the individual movements and the men who led them. My job was to evaluate, make adjustments to plans and operations, develop new tactics - training, basic, final and specialized training. Set up of health committees, security and administration." Strategically advised on operations. For all the movements, the guiding philosophy was national liberation and independence.

"There were general and basic military principles, but every movement had their own politic."



"Samora Machel, a very good leader." - Mozambique



Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, then and now a supporter of African liberation

Brig. Hashim I. Mbita, retired chairperson of OAU Liberation Support Committee. (photograph by Zahur Ramji by Mediapix International)

We inquired of General Mbita why wasn't there an all African Army; "States have parameters, none wants to relinquish some of their sovereignty. Indeed that was/is a very delicate and complicated thing."

The General mused: China and the USSR afforded training experiences, developed strategy and tactics which made us rich. It allowed movements to see things coming or analyses of what had been and appreciate the outstanding qualities which made us, Africans, better.

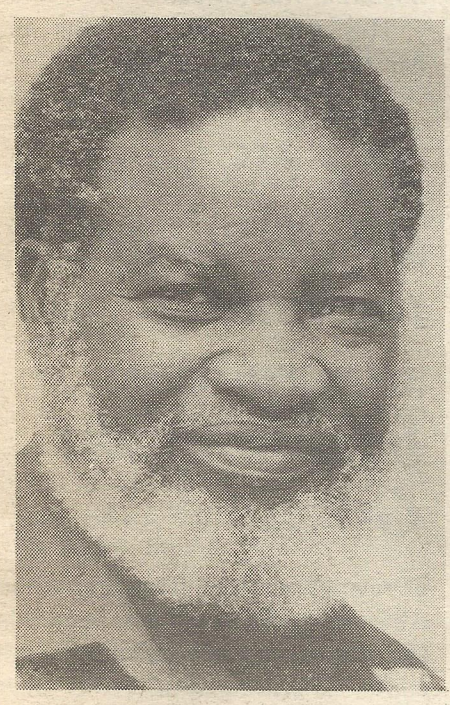
Our cultural, spiritualness had to tell of the suffering, had to explain why we had to be in this position - how to push development. It did not start in training camp - it started in the home. People were motivated to go find training, "Hard work, with no short cuts."

Performance determined leadership, naturally, spontaneously. On the question of women, the liberation struggles realized very early the importance of women in combat - barrier of physical differences was hardly there. "Codes of Conduct", was the resilience of women, unfatiguable.

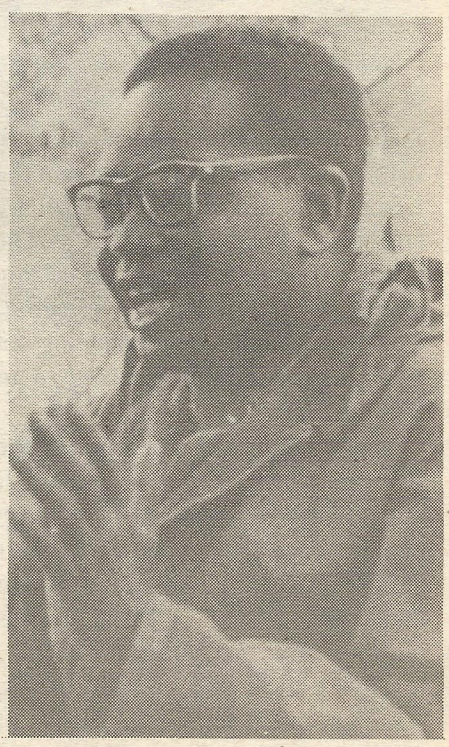
"I remember once when we were walking to Mozambique. The women arrived first, cooked and prepared dinner. This among other episodes established the women as combatants."

Samora Machel was a very good leader, politically and socially. Amilcar Cabral, our theoretician and Agostino Neto, a general and a patriot and Sam Njoma, the first president of independent Namibia.

"The brave among brave men, left alone he is a coward."



"Sam Njoma, first president of independent Namibia."



"Agostino Neto, a general and a patriot." - Angola

EDITORIAL

A Revolutionary Path for the African World: The Struggle for National Liberation

ARM THE MASSES

"the era of the Masses, people's power which places all authority, wealth and arms in the hands of the People"

During a struggle for national liberation where the colonial power is compelled to surrender as a result of sustained, overwhelming pressures of a non-violent kind, and not because of military defeat, it is generally not possible to organize intensive ideological education of the masses while the struggle is actually in progress.

Kwame Nkrumah
Winneta, Feb. 18, 1961

Approaching the 21st century present conditions do not forecast a very positive future for the African world. On the African continent, and throughout the diaspora the enemies of racism, recolonization and underdevelopment still prevail. Confronting and challenging these age old realities is not a new phenomena for Africa's toiling masses. The forces of evil and oppression have throughout history coalesced to keep Africans from obtaining and maintaining control over their destiny. This endless pit of oppression and exploitation is not by accident but rather a worldwide calculated strategy by the vultures from the west, led by the paper tiger United States and its running dog allies of western Europe. Current signs indicate no change of policy.

The Boers, the British, the Germans, the Belgians, the Portuguese, individually and collectively in different periods of history attempted to snatch the land, the diamonds and the culture of the Blacks. Unconquered in each and every instance, where there was aggression resistance was the only correct response. The goal of the enemy was to maintain control over the land, culture, and political economy.

As the 21st century draws near, once again the war crimes are breathing down the necks and backs of the African world. Rwanda, Haiti, the underdeveloped internal colony of 40 million Africans in the US, Angola, Somalia, Brazil, all are struggling for the survival. The future of Blacks hangs on a thin thread of extinction or freedom. Our faith cannot be a balancing act but rather a relentless struggle to win the war.

The freedom and liberation of the African world is not a dream; it must become a reality if African people have any vision of their children shaping and developing their own future. Central to this question are the politics of land, foreign policy and control of the state's political economy. Heads of states, political parties and revolutionary movements are all in the same boat. Decades and decades of tricks and conspiracies to deny the most downtrodden their passport to freedom. Confronted with an entirely different alignment of power and allies, the developing world is fast becoming a second class world community that demands no respect in the eyes of the enemy.

The freedom and liberation of the African world is not a dream; it must become a reality. The Organization of African Unity was founded for this purpose by some of Africa's best sons.

Perestroika and the Soviet revisionism has completely changed the balance of arms and power worldwide. The US now stands alone as the lone superpower with its G-7 brokers backing them up. The majority of the world's political, social and economic bodies and agencies that are supposed to maintain the principle of functioning with one standard, now have become private corporate accounts for the US. The United Nations security council is no longer a democratically elected and run body. Principles of rights to sovereignty, non-military intervention, cessation of premeditated wars of genocide all for obvious reasons have destabilized the Black world. Totally abandoned by all of the United Nations human rights standards, the future looks very bleak.

But African people have been never been a cowardly people nor a people who give up. One classical example is the case of the 40 million strong internal colony of the US. For four hundred years the slave masters, the Union Army, the 13 colonies, now the US government, attempted to destroy the will to resist of Blacks, but all to no avail. Political prisoners of war in the 20th century are a concrete reality and product of the continued liberation struggle of the internal colony inside Amerikkka.

The unrepentant collaborators with the West, are African people's most vicious enemy, Black opportunists, who in some instances pawn themselves off as heads of state or leaders of Blacks in the African world. In reality these Judases are nothing but individualistic compradors and hoarders of gold, American dollars, estates, and Swiss bank accounts. Never owing a allegiance to their own kind and class, the masses, they continue to broker the destruction of African people worldwide in their own styles of "African Roulette".

The politics and integrity of Nkrumah, Cabral, Machel, Lumumba, Nyere, Malcolm, Chris Hani, Qadaffi, Sabello, Nasser, all have been watered down and branded as communist led or terrorists.

Bad mouthed by these same pimps for political power and greed, revolutionary politics has constantly being marginalized and isolated. The results, the African world hangs on a delicate precipice of treason or vacilation to revolutionary ideas and government loyalty.

Steering and staying the course for Africa's downtrodden. July's editorial attempts to put into perspective an analysis and introspective look at what's holding back the locomotion of Black liberation worldwide.

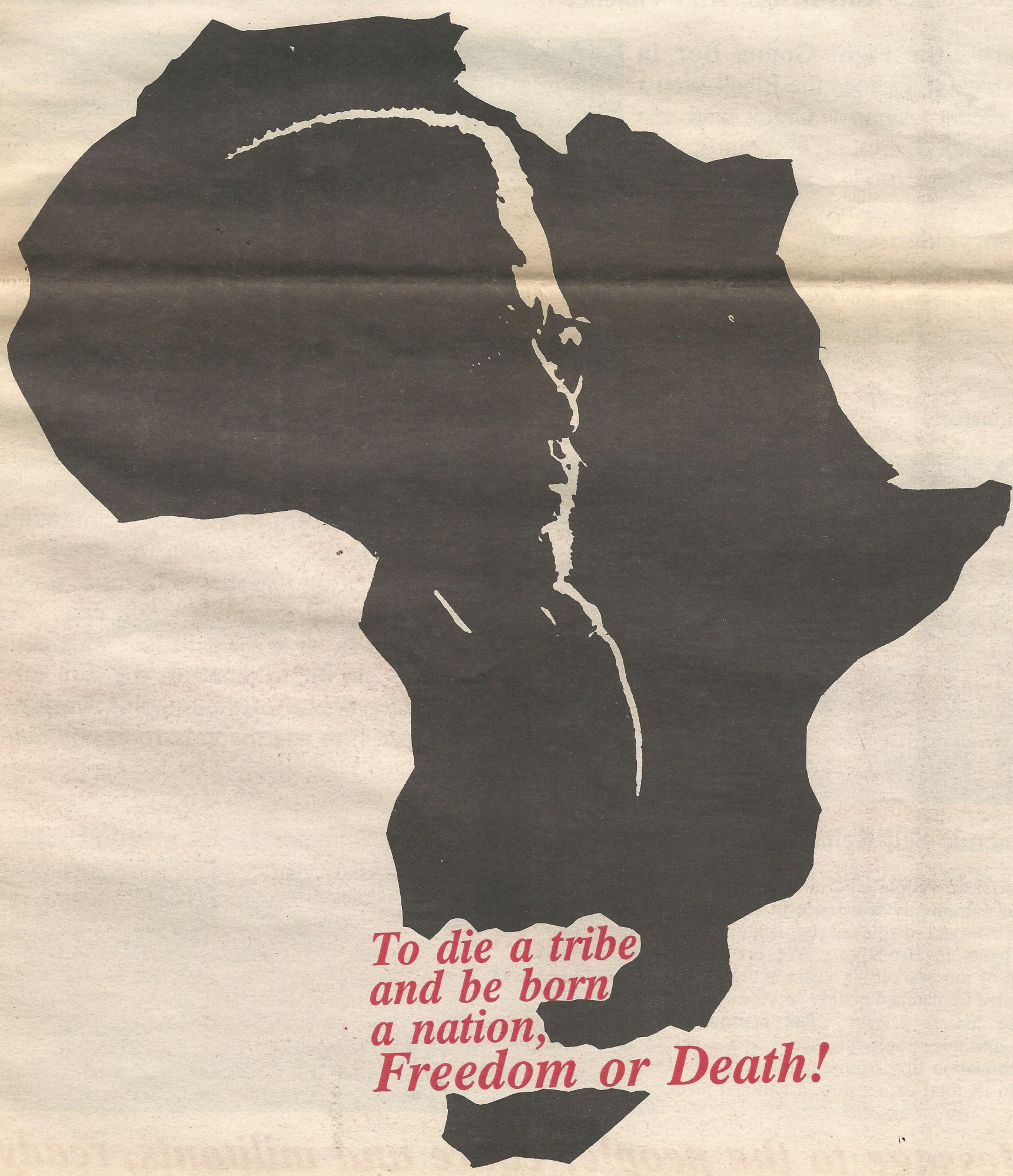
The natural question for the African world has yet to settle.

The burden rests on the shouders of revolutionaries. Throughout the African world their are hundreds and thousands, that can inspire the conscious sentiment of Africa unity and African liberation worldwide. A revolutionary path is African people's only salvation.

The US now stands alone as the lone superpower... backed by the G-7...

December 12th Movement
NATIONAL AGENDA FOR 40 MILLION AFRICANS

AGITATE,
POLITICIZE,
MOBILIZE,
TAKE BACK THE LAND
BLACK POWER!



December 12th Grassroots

"The Struggle is for land, self-determination,

PROGRAMS

Popular Resistance, Mass Mobilization

The Masses United for Human Rights, the Black Power Coordinating Committee and the Black Consciousness Movement carry out the legacy of Malcolm X as they take to the community to agitate and mobilize our people around our right to self-determination, development and nationhood.

Self-Defense, Anti-Drugs, Anti-Violence

Where's the Fight Gonna Be? In the streets! Echoes the Black Men's Movement Against Crack and the Brotherhood. Our community is a battleground for US genocidal germ warfare. Drugs have become a $4 billion industry in the African community killing off thousands in the Black nation. We say **Death to the Crack Dealers.**

Education

A growing concern in the Black community is the targeting and railroading of Black youth, mainly males into special education, a system of psychological genocide. We must abolish this system in its present form. This coupled with the move to control the life of the community is part of the ongoing work of the December 12th and the grassroots community.

Economic Self-Reliance

The African People's Farmers Market grew out of community resistance in response to the disrespect displayed by some Korean merchants in Brooklyn. We opened the doors of the market six years ago and have provided unmatched quality service and food at the lowest prices. The market also demonstrates self-reliance and self-determination first from a community level, and in its total expression, a national level.

Message to the people, cadre and militants, ready

Popular Programs for Action

self-defense, take back the streets"

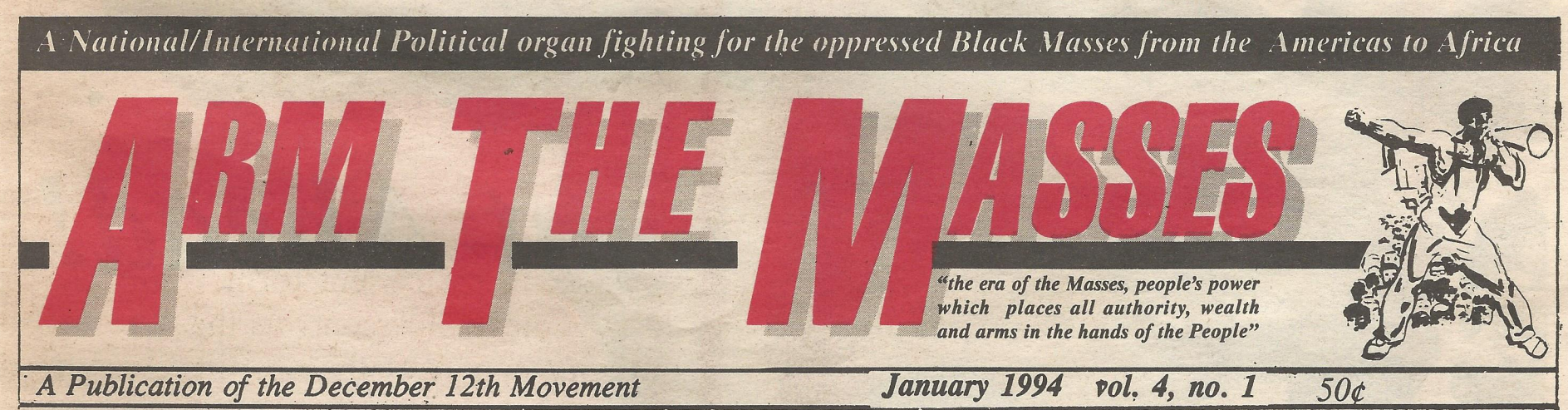
Women and Culture

The Harriet Tubman-Fannie Lou Hamer Collective fights for the liberation of Africans in the US. Our first struggle is against those who have enslaved our people through centuries of miseducation and the denial of our culture. Through our educational forums, cultural events, participation in local, national and international conferences, forums and seminars, we push for our independence.

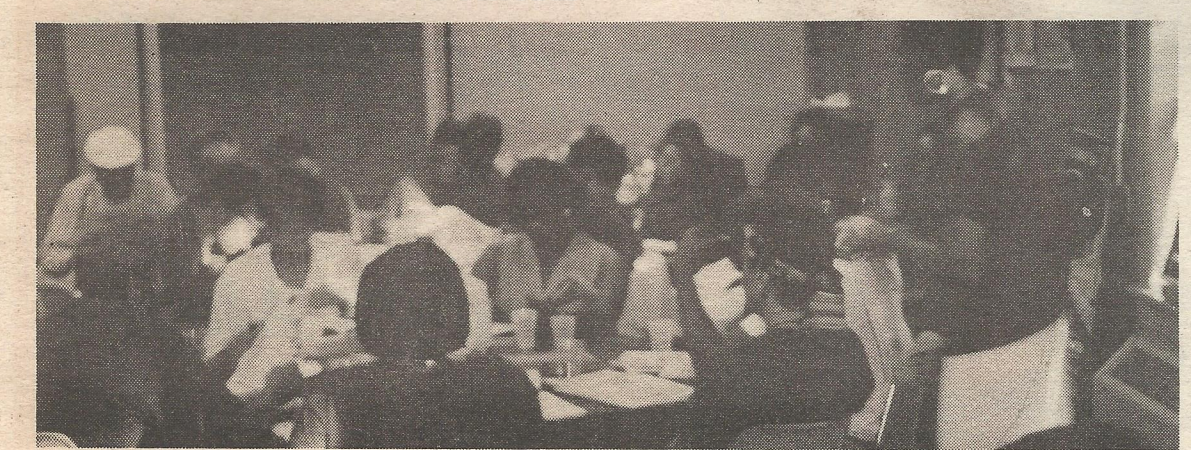
Youth Leadership and Development

Young, Gifted and Black is a new educational program organized by Black men, women and youth committed to the education of Black children. Academic excellence, cultural identity, self-respect, leadership, love and community responsibilities are the values which express African pride and dignity. With these ideas, a strong Black nation will emerge.

Propaganda and Information



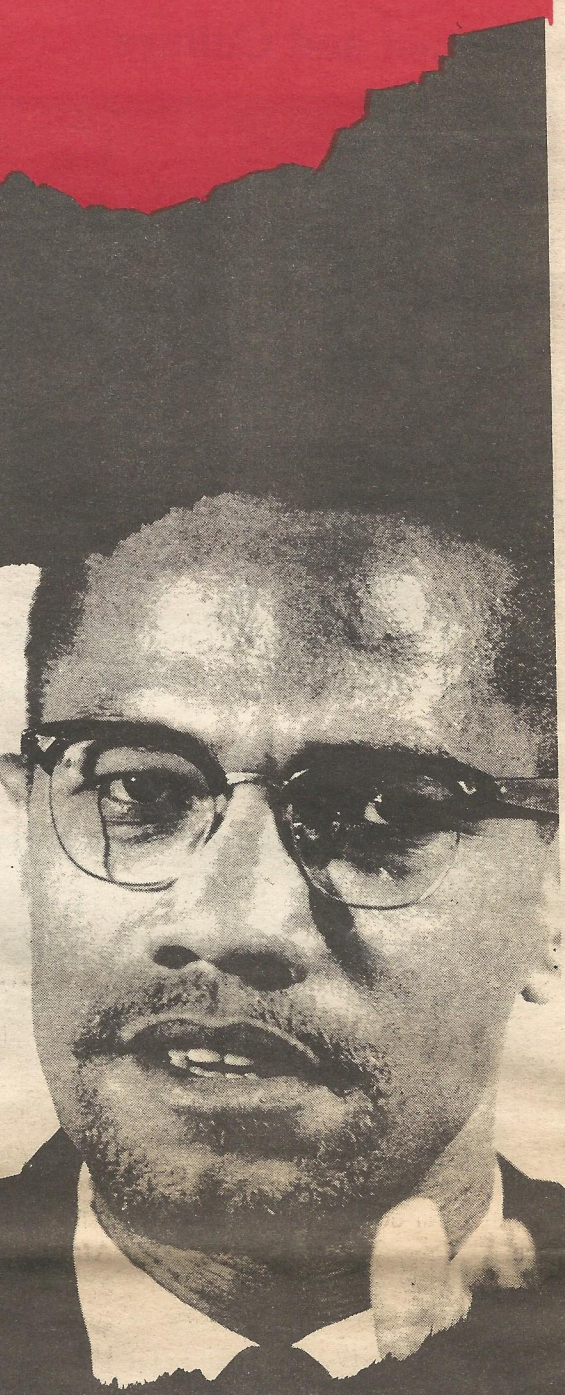
Cadre Political Education



The struggle is to change the ideas of our people. There is no greater weapon than the will to be free and the idea that we can win. We must develop a theory from our history, identify who are our friends and enemies. The collective fight for the correct path towards liberation is where we aim the main blow.

to serve, organize and defend wherever we are.

Making it Plain in '95



A Nationalist Grassroots

Black Power Strike!

Honoring Malcolm X's
70th Birthday, May 19th

Straight Ahead!

Straight Ahead!

Straight Ahead!

Straight Ahead!

Liberate the Internal Colony!

As we approach the 21st Century there are those among us who are still debating and contemplating our entry into "mainstream USA." For all of the reasons heretofore written and practiced, conditions have reaffirmed that we 40 million Africans captured in the USA are an internal colony. Our objective conditions do not belie the existence of the brothers and sisters who have achieved temporary credentials for entry, eg., education, jobs, jobs, "small businesses", seats in the cabinet of the national government and allowed to represent that government internationally, these are facts. Never the less they are temporary. Our "main-stream" participation is and always has been temporary, "granted" by some major mass struggle or our individual benefit therefrom. Regardless of the how we obtained entry, we relate as subjects of that government which in the 400 years of our captivity has never considered the millions of us potential or equal participants in their government.

Indeed their government was formed by and in the interest of slave masters, not slaves; past or present. Any perceived changes in its presentation does not change its essence.

Demonstrators going towards the United Nations in NY to protest human rights violations.

"If South Africa is guilty of violating the human rights of Africans here on the mother continent, then America is guilty of worse violations of the 22 million Africans on the American continent."

Malcolm X

Our national question is inextricably linked to our international question...

As an oppressed nation of African people in the US, the time is now borne of the most tragic events of these past 400 years; compelled by the genocide in Rwanda, and witnessing this carnage of recolonization of the African continent; we must put the issue of liberation and independence on our immediate agenda.

To do so the question becomes friends and enemies. The strategy and tactics, policies and practices necessary for the struggle for independence can only be developed by us. Our national question is inextricably linked to our international question. What must be done on the continent of Africa cannot be left to this or that administration in Washington. It became irrelevant as the Rwandan and Somali situations prove, that we have the Congressional Black Caucus and a Black Undersecretary of State for Africa. The irrelevance is made ever clearer by the total situation in Africa today, which is a mirror of what is the condition of its sons and daughters here. Our "influence" on foreign policies are prescribed by and within the context of the ruling circles in the US.

Regardless to the appearance and posturing of "elected" (or otherwise) officials, 500 thousand Africans were killed in Rwanda by a murderous dictatorial regime supported by France, a friend of the US government. We had absolutely no say. France and Belgium, who continued to sell massive amounts of military hardware to those killers, have yet to be even chastised by the Government of the US, not through its real bodies or the "under-secretary of State for African Affairs." We did not define France, Belgium as our friends or friends of Africa. Their colonial history does not differ in essence from that of the US. Are we a part of this/these policies? What are our policies toward Somalia, Libya, Sudan, Ghana, Nigeria, etc. where and who developed them? In whose interests? Does the devastation of Detroit, Harlem, Greenville, Chicago, Cape Town, reflect a policy domestic or foreign that promotes the social, political and economic development of African people? There cannot be a new entity born of colonialism. The imposition through force notwithstanding.

Franz Fanon's instruction of those who "undertake to build the new society" are apropos: "The degrading and infantalizing structures that habitually infest relations between the colonized and colonizer must be liquidated," if we are to prevent recolonization of the continent and push (struggle) for the liberation of our people here. "The oppressed peoples know today that national liberation is a part of the process of historic development but they also know that this liberation must be the work of the oppressed people." Once fought for it can only be maintained by those people through their uncompromising self-determination.

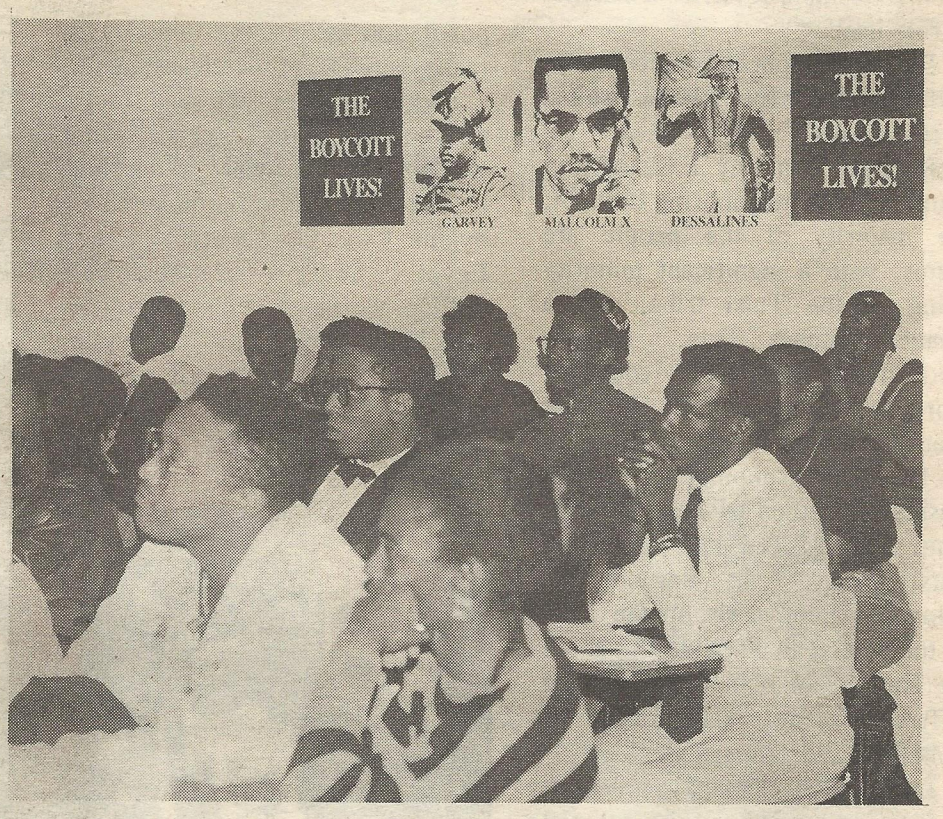
To effectively participate in the arena of the "New World Order" we must keep the legacy of Malcolm X's teachings ever before us. *"We pray that our African brothers have not freed themselves of European colonialism only to be overcome and held in check now by American dollarism. Don't let American racism be "legalized" by American dollarism.*

America is worse than South Africa, because not only is America racist, but she also is deceitful and hypocritical. South Africa preaches segregation and practices segregation. She, at least, practices what she preaches. America preaches integration and practices segregation. She preaches one thing while deceitfully practicing another.

South Africa is like a vicious wolf, openly hostile towards Black humanity. But America is cunning like a fox, friendly and smiling, but even more vicious and deadly than the wolf.

The wolf and the fox are both enemies of humanity; both are canine; both humiliate and mutilate their victims. Both have the same objectives, but differ only in methods.

If South Africa is guilty of violating the human rights of Africans here on the mother continent, then America is guilty of worse violations of the 22 million Africans on the American continent. And if South African racism is not a domestic issue, then American racism is not a domestic issue."



Africans and World Revolution

The African Revolution is fundamental to transforming the quality of life for Africans on the Continent, in diaspora, and the masses worldwide. It is in Africa that Imperialism, colonialism, and Zionism have hatched their most insidious schemes: and it is there, Africa, where they will meet their ultimate defeat.

Rwanda: The Story Behind the Horror

Refugees as they fled a battle east of Cyanika, watched by French troops.

The Rwandan Patriotic Front has won the civil war; the Tutsi led force has named two Hutus as the leadership of the interim government, with the stated hope of beginning national reconciliation.

The war in Rwanda has been portrayed as a horrific tribal war with atrocities beyond belief on both sides. Africans savagely massacring other Africans, famine, fleeing refugees being trampled to death - another example of Africa's inability to rule itself.

But to paraphrase Malcolm X, "Of all study, history is best suited to reward us."

Rwanda is a tiny East African country. Like neighboring Burundi, the majority of the people are Hutus, with a significant minority being of the Tutsi tribe, and a smaller number Twa. Before colonialism, these tribes coexisted more or less peacefully in their beautiful mountainous homelands. In fact, the groupings are social classes more than tribes, a wealthy Hutu could ascend into the ruling Tutsi group. In Burundi the colonialist Belgian set up the Tutsi as the rulers; in Rwanda the chose the Hutus. In both they inflamed differences into antagonism by favoritism and propaganda.

Juvenal Habyarimana as president of Rwanda carried out the colonial policy of divide and conquer. He was from the Hutu tribe and repressed the Tutsi, (although Hutus who opposed him were also persecuted.) In response, many Tutsis fled to neighboring Uganda and formed the Rwandan Patriotic Front.

The Belgians were the main supporters of the corrupt Habyarimana regime both politically, economically and militarily until the Patriotic Front launched an offensive in 1990. Then the French jumped in, sending paratroopers to back the government. The socialist French government showed no qualms supporting a dictator who organized fascist militia to launch tribal pogroms and inflame the majority population against the minority by racist calls for ethnic cleansing.

Not only did France send troops, through the Credit Lyonnais, which was government owned at the time, it backed $6 million arms purchase by the Rwandan government from Egypt. South Africa sold $5.2 million worth of arms to poverty stricken Rwanda of every description. These large scale purchases after the beginning of the civil war enable President Habyarimana to arm the Hutu population. The sales continued after many instances of indiscriminate killings, organized by government forces and carried out by civilians.

Pressure from the African countries encouraged Habyarimana to sign a ceasefire agreement with the Rwandan Patriotic Front in August of 1993.

When his plane was mysteriously shot down in April 6, his Presidential guard and inner circle launched a well-orchestrated campaign to massacre Tutsis and incite the general population to participate.

Hundreds of thousands were slaughtered, mainly Tutsis but also Hutus who were thought to be sympathetic to peace. The government radio and another station owned by Habya rimana's family spread constant propaganda that the Hutus had to rise and kill the Tutsis.

The Rwandan Patriotic Front launched an offensive and began to march on the government forces.

The war in Rwanda has been portrayed as a horific tribal war with atrocities beyond belief...

The French sent in reinforcements, at first under the guise of protecting civilians, then more openly to keep the reactionary government in power.

Despite this support, the Patriotic Front swept to victory over the numerically larger army. UN military observers said the troops were extremely well-disciplined and trained and their leader, Paul Kagama, was a military genius. Even some French troops described the government army as butchers when they saw civilian massacres and found themselves protecting Tutsis the government had labeled rebels.

The remnants of the government still continue to broadcast from French protected territory their message of hate against Tutsis and have started aiming their broadcasts to neighboring Burundi.

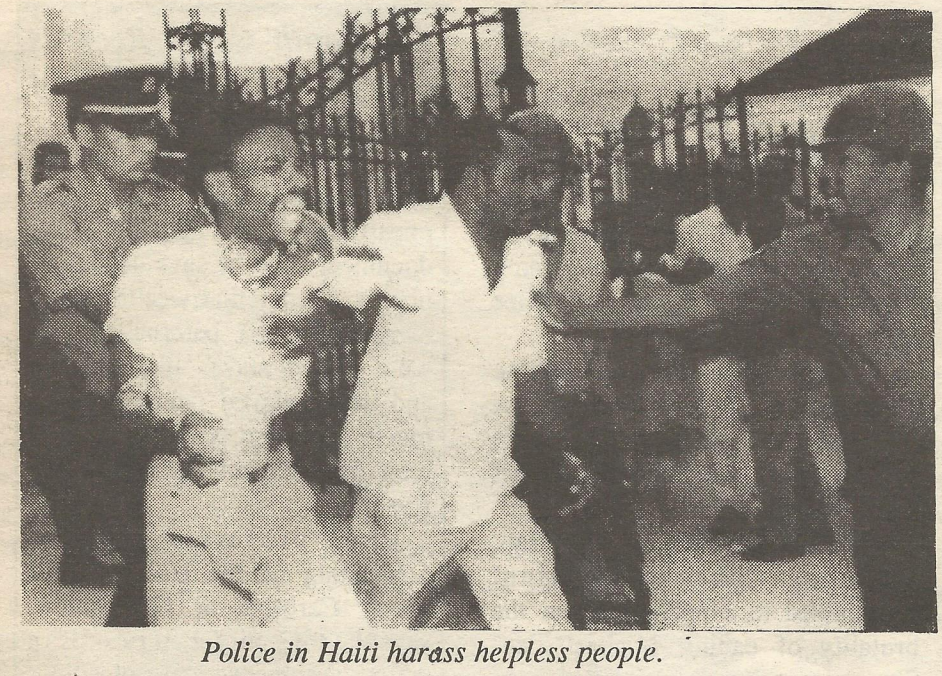
Despite the RPF's pronouncements of reconciliation, Hutus are still fleeing. Cholera and other diseases are killing many in the refugee camps.

How did this get so far that thousands of Africans are dying once again? When the OAU organized a force to enforce the ceasefire the US refused to send in the needed heavy equipment until the UN had paid it for the use of such equipment. France underwrote the supplying of massive quantities of arms to a regime which had brutally suppressed the opposition, broken every democratic initiative it had proposed, and armed a substantial part of the population with weapons and then spread the word that the other part of the people were enemies to be ruthlessly destroyed. The airlifts of food are by no means arriving in enough time to help the sick; Elombe Brath of the Patrice Lumumba coalition has pointed out that the children suffer permanent brain damage due to malnutrition. These children will be a problem for the next generation trying to free itself from the yoke of neocolonialism. The media of the west which waxes so eloquent on the horrors of Rwanda never encourages to look behind the pictures for the causes of the brutality, who is fanning the flames and most of all who benefits.

We must seek all avenues to gain our own information to form our own critical analysis.

Tutsi woman visiting hospitalized friend as she passes Rwandan Patriotic Front soldier at left.

Africa and World Revolution



Police in Haiti harass helpless people.

Who Benefits from US Policy in Haiti?

Editor's note: excerpts from a press statement by Charles Kernaghan, National Labor Committee and a fact sheet produced on the economic basis of the US policy in Haiti.

The National Labor Committee does not believe that democracy, under any circumstances, can be built on sweatshop jobs paying 14 cent an hour wages, jobs in which workers' rights are violently suppressed. However, by unilaterally exempting the US assembly industry from the OAS trade embargo, the US government has gone even further, playing straight into the hands of the Haitian military and the supporters among the business elite. This was and remains the wrong message to be sending. It weakens the credibility of the US, the OAS and the UN.

This loophole benefits the US assembly companies and retailers who gain access to wages of 14 cents an hour, while gouging the US consumer with prices marked up 400 and 500 percent over the cost of production.

The Haitian people deserve a better deal than this. They want to live in a democracy, not a sweatshop. They have asked us to live in a democracy, not a sweatshop. They have asked us to support a total commercial embargo of Haiti until the military ceases the repression and stops blocking the return of president Jean-Bertrand Aristide. The National Labor Committee will continue to monitor--and expose-- US companies that continue to trade with Haiti despite the OAS embargo.

FACT SHEET

Who benefits from the assembly industry in Haiti? Looking at the period 1983 to 1989, Haitian apparel exports to the US more than doubled, growing from $81 million in 1983 to $180.9 million in 1989. This was a dynamic 14 percent annual growth in exports. By 1989, apparel accounted for a full 47

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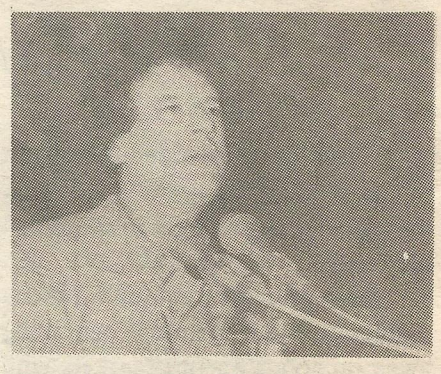
Libya Still Under Embargo

Around the world, from New York to Dominica in the West Indies to Great Britain, African Liberation Day Celebrations this past May highlighted the unfair nature of the economic embargo against Libya. The Libyan people have been suffering under an embargo imposed because the United States, Britain and France charged it with being responsible with the explosion of a plane over Lockerbie, Scotland in 1988.

Supposedly, the men responsible for the bombing were agents of the Libyan government, a charge Libya categorically denies. In a recent publication, "Inside the Octubus: from the DIA ....." a book written by a US spy, Syria is implicated in the attack, as it has been at various other times. Syria was a courted US ally when the Lockerbie incident occured and evidence pointing to Syrian involvement has been discounted.

Ironically, the evidence laid out points to possible US involvement in the incident. The attack may have been provoked by the American military "accidental" shooting down a commercial plane carrying over 200 pilgrims on a religious journey.



Moammar Qadafi, Libyan leader

Libya at various times has offered to hold a trial for the alleged suspects in their own country, turn over the men to the Arab League, or have the World Court hear the case. Moammar Qadafi has stated that he would do so to see justice served, although he believes the accused to be innocent and knows there was no complicity by his government. But the Libyan government has pointed out that there could be no fair hearing for the accused in an American court of law or a British one, the only scenario acceptable to these three nations.

UN Keeps Wraps on Somalia Memo

The United Nations has not made public the contents of its official report on Somalia, in particular the "humanitarian intervention." The Commission was composed of Chief Justice Matthew M.S.W. Ngulube of Zambia, the chairman, and Lt. Gen. Emanuel A. Erskine of Ghana and Lt. Gen. Gustav Hagglund of Finland. Among the conclusions are that the attack on UN peacekeepers were provoked by the UN actions and that serious political errors were committed in handling the situation. The US in particular seems to be cited for changing the mission from humanitarian assistance to a supposedly starving populace to a manhunt for General Aidid. The full disclosure of the report will be invaluable in exploring the role of the UN as a tool for US foreign policy and the overall plan to recolonize Africa. It would be particularly useful now with the daily stories of Rwandan atrocities,which echo the pictures of starving Somali children used before the invasion as the reason for intervention.

Colombia's Blacks Now Visible

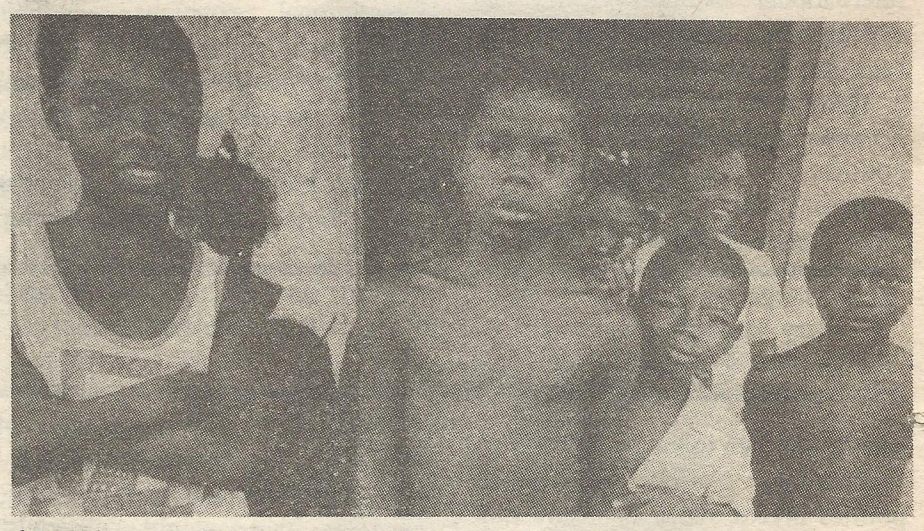
by Omowale Clay

Columbia, South America has a secret. Black people make up at least 15 percent of the nation's 35 million people. Like most of the Black populations in South America, such as in Peru or Venezuela, the face of Africans has rarely been seen in the presentations of South American countries other than Brazil.

On the left there has been a growing consciousness of the particularity of Blacks in Columbia. The largest guerrilla group, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia, has created an all Black unit, named after Benkos Bioho, a colonial-era leader of Black resistance. The unit is based in Choco, which is 95 percent Black.

Rising political activity among the mainly underdeveloped Black population has forced the government to pass a Black rights laws. Street protests and guerrilla actions resulted in the "Negritudes Law" which allows for extending land titles to traditional Black communities, promoting Black education, punishing racial discrimination, and setting up a presidential advisory board for Black affairs. Two seats in the Congress are reserved for Black delegates, the only such seats in Latin America.

Speaking at a lecture at the Harriet Tubman School organized by Elombe Brath of the Patrice Lumumba Coaltion, Dr. Gustavo Makanaky Cordoba explained some of the problems. He said, "White people have more access to schools and hospitals, Blacks and Indians have less access. The Government has reduced antimalarial spending. Coincidentally, malaria is concentrated in Black areas.... The Black groups are on the coasts and



the whites are in the Andes. The whites channel all the state resources to favor their zone."

Choco, where Dr. Makanaky practices, has an infant mortality rate of 155 per 1000 live births, five times the national average. Life expectancy is 52 years, 25 percent below the national level. Illiteracy is twice the national rate. There is not one paved road in Choco.

The popular culture in Colombia denies that there is an African presence there - Blacks are rarely represented on television or newspaper or movies. Black history is not taught and the official anthropological establishment argues that the Spanish Inquisition wiped

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HUMAN RIGHTS REVIEW

HUMAN RIGHTS?

WE CAN'T AFFORD THE STEEP PRICE

by Lars-Erik Nelson

Nothing so gladdens the heart of an American central banker as the sight of slave labor in some far-off land.

Such a lovely picture: All those unhappy little hands, beavering away on goods for our markets with never a peep of a wage demand.

It was a contest between America's ideals and America's well-being...

Beautiful.

Slave labor provides us with a two-fold blessing: Cheap goods for our stores and cheap wages to stifle US labor's demands for bigger paychecks.

By holding down prices in this country, low-cost Chinese goods deter the Federal Reserve Bank from raising interest rates to head off inflation. Such a rise in interest rates, in turn, could choke off the economic recovery that has been the leading bright spot of President Bill Clinton's tenure.

At the same time, China's handful of aging leaders can favor or punish American corporations that are seeking billions of dollars in Chinese business. Antagonize those leaders and it could cost us hundreds of thousands of jobs for some of America's most skilled workers - in aviation, telecommunications, construction....

President Bill Clinton wrestled with this reality and agreed to extend most-favored nation trading status - meaning low tariffs to China even though it failed to make fundamental improvements in human rights.

Clinton had no choice. It was a contest between America's ideals and America's well-being.

Commerce Secretary Ron Brown gave a tiny sample of what's at stake for US business: "The scope is just mind-boggling. AT&T has a $4 billion deal to install 1.5 million new telephone lines in Arabia. But China is looking for someone to help them put in **80 million** new telephones.

"China is planning $600 billion in infrastructure projects [roads, rail, telecommunications, etc.] between now and the year 2000. We'd like American companies to participate in that."

Clinton's decision should make it plain, at last, that the US really cannot afford to enforce the morality it preaches. It is a lesson that should have been learned from Chinese Premier Deng Xiaoping, 15 years ago, when President Jimmy Carter pressed him to liberalize emigration.

"If you would like me to release 10 million Chinese to come to the United States, I would be glad to do so," Deng told Carter. End of that conversation.

On a different level, when Sen. William Cohen (R-Maine) complained to Singapore about the brutality of caning Michael Fay, Singapore officials pointed out to him that Los Angeles police officers had beaten Rodney King with their clubs, before a TV camera, and been acquitted by a jury in Simi Valley, California. Who were we to preach morality to Singapore?...

Secretary of State Warren Christopher said the old policy had run its course, and that "the president has adopted a new policy that is in the interest of the United States. I think it is in the interests of human rights in China as well."

And if not, too bad. We can't afford it.

Editor's note: everywhere the "we" or "American" is used, we know that is the pronoun for global capitalism.

Old South Court Records Give Lie to Theory of Happy Slaves

For the past three years a history professor has been unearthing thousands of court documents that he says debunks a popular theory that wealthy slave owners were a paternalistic lot who treated slaves like children and that enslaved families stayed together while making the most of their lives by singing and telling stories.

The professor, Loren Schwening of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, says the long forgotten records of court petitiosns and pleadings from slaves and their owners tell of lost love, broken promises and selling of babies...

As to the theory of paternalistic owners and happy slaves, Professor Schweninger said: "The harsh realities were different in most cases. The family was under severe, severe strains and the economic aspects are shown so clearly, it's difficult to see the family survive. It's very bleak..."

"They show the impersonal market forces that were at work every where slavery was," Professor schweninger said. "Even in areas where there were large numbers of free Blacks, there was a tremendous pressure pushing them back toward slavery."

Is Capitalism Doomed?

by Benjamin C. Schwarz
Editor's note: from New York Times

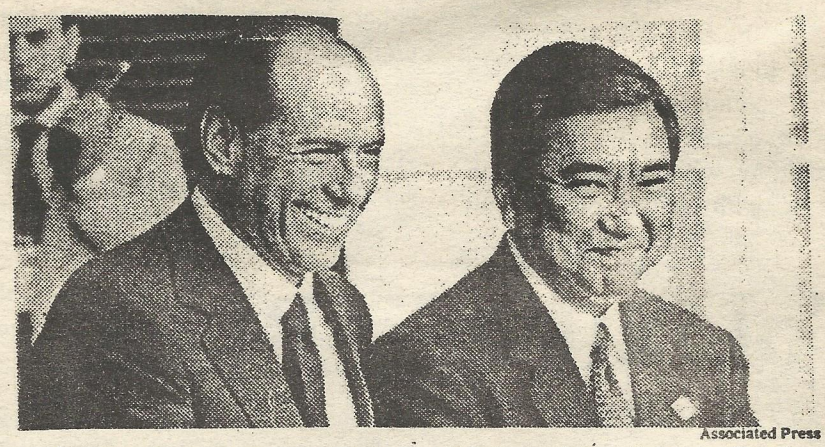
While we celebrate the prosperity that has accompanied international economic interdependence, a serious threat to prosperity remains ignored. Today's global economy depends upon American power, but precisely because of this dependency, international capitalism may be approaching catastrophe, just as it is reaching its fullest flower.

There is an inherent contradiction between capitalism and international politics. Capitalist economies prosper most when labor, technology and capital are fluid, so they are driven toward international integration. But international politics drives states to insure that economic power is distributed in their favor at the expense of their rivals. This restricts production and markets and thereby fragments the global economy.

Thus, in the normal course of world politics, in which states must compete for security, a global economy is impossible to achieve. In fact, international capitalism has enjoyed only two golden ages: the periods following the Napoleonic wars and the two World Wars. The key to both these episodes of peace and prosperity has been the same - the ability and will of a single state to become a hegemonic power, taking over the security problems of weaker states so they need not pursue autarkic policies nor form trading blocs to improve their international positions. This suspension of power politics through hegemony has been the fundamental aim of American foreign policy since 1945.

Even though the cold war has ended, America's security leadership - for instance, its domination of NATO and the alliance with Japan - it still necessary to hold in check the rivalries that would otherwise disrupt the stability that a global economy requires. Thus, the US must continue, as the Pentagon's 1992 draft Defense Planning Guidance argues, to dominate the international system by "discouraging the advanced industrialized nations form challenging our leadership or even aspiring to a larger global or regional role." Assuming this awesome responsibility, the Pentagon asserts, insures "a market -oriented zone of peace and prosperity that encompasses more than two-thirds of the world's economy."

Even though the cold war is ended, America's security leadership is still necessary to hold in check the rivalries that would otherwise disrupt the stability that a global economy requires.



Associated Press

Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi of Italy guiding Japan's Foreign Minister, Yohei Kono, to a Group of Seven photo session

Imposing a protectorate over two-thirds of the world economy means not only that the United States must dominate wealthy and techno-logically sophisticated friendly states, but that it must also deal with such nuisances as Saddam Hussein, Kim Il Sung and Slobodan Milosevic so that potential great powers need not acquire the means to deal with those problems themselves. This, in turn, dictates that America must spend more on national security than the rest of the world combined.

Thus, stabilizing the international system is a wasting proposition. A hegemonic power forced to place such importance on military security must divert capital and creativity from the civilian sector, even as other states, freed from onerous spending for security, add resources to economic productive investments. As America's relative economic strength erodes, so does the comparative advantage over other powers upon which its hegemony is founded....

Seventy five years ago, Lenin argued that international capitalism would be economically successful but, by growing in a world of competitive states, it would plant the seeds of its own destruction.... Vladimir Iliych may have the last laugh.

Dare To Struggle

FROM THE INTERNAL COLONY IN THE USA...

In Honor of the Great Leader Kim Il Sung

July 11, 1994

To the Dear Leader Kim Jong Il
To the Korean Workers Party
To the Korean People

Comrade Kim Jong Il,

The December 12th Movement International Secretariat, on behalf of 40 million Africans, ex-slaves, in the United States of America, solemnly extend their revolutionary condolences at the untimely passing of the leader and teacher, Kim Il Sung, the Great Leader.

The uncompromising leadership of Kim Il Sung is a beacon light of inspiration for the internal colony of 40 million Africans who continue to be victims of racism, capitalism and human rights violations.

We remain ever vigilant and in total solidarity in this New World Order of pernicious threats against the sovereignty of nations and the right of self determination.

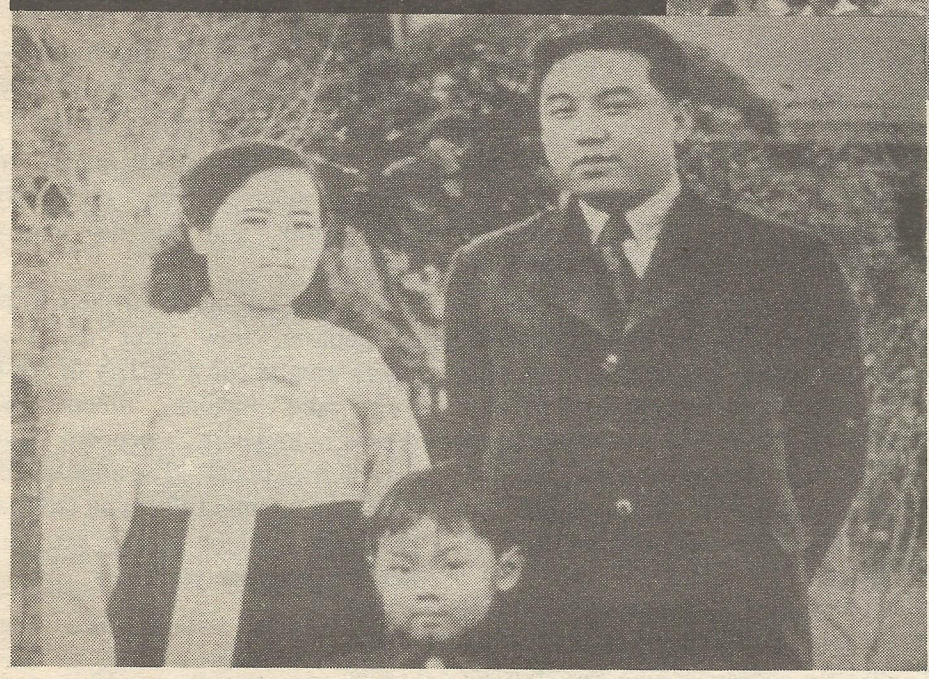
The December 12th Movement, its leadership, its mass organizations and all of its people, stand shoulder to shoulder in solidarity with the courageous resolve of the party and people during this period of mourning and loss.

On behalf of all of our movement and our freedom fighters, imprisoned and on the street, we would like to officially request to send a representative to attend the national day of celebration and honor of the life and leadership of the Great Leader.

We Will Win.

Long Live Juche and the courageous deeds and leadership of Kim Il Sung.

Freedom or Death!



Kim with his first wife Chong Suk who died before the Korean War and son Jong Il.

No. Korean President Kim Il Sung and his son, Kim Jong Il

Independent Foreign Policy

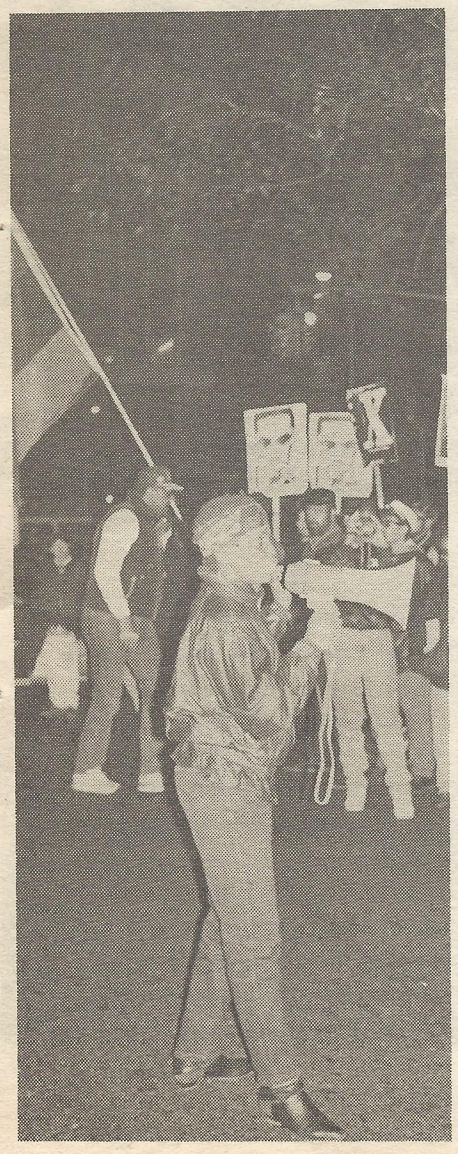
cont. from page 2

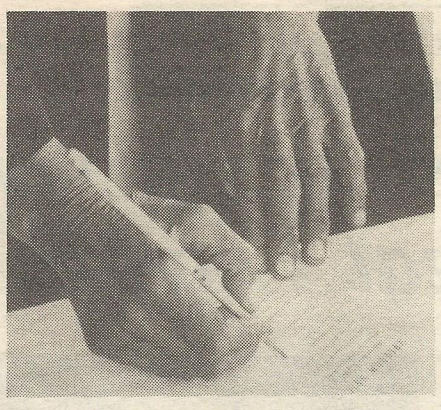
would not only assure than we captives in the US receive our modern equivalent of a collective 40 Acres and a Mule, but that African countries be recompensed for the damages done to their development by colonial rule and the depopulation of the slave trade. An Independent Black Foreign Policy could insist that reparations to African countries assume the form of forgiveness of the debts owed the US and the IMF/World Bank.

The implementation of this type of policy could not help but establish a stronger, more reciprocal relationship with progressive African countries, including the acquisition of dual citizenship. Such a situation would provide those of us in the US with more leverage vis a vis our conditions of existence.

An independent foreign policy could call for the forgiveness of Africa's debt to the West...

And before we finish with this theme, let us be clear that the stress is on **independent**. We are not talking about a Black person, e.g. William Gray or Colin Powell, articulating U.S. foreign policy. We mean an Independent Foreign Policy which would demand: that all Haitian refugees fleeing the present military dictatorship receive political asylum; and, that aid be provided to those forces of national liberation which are fighting to overthrow that dictatorship.





Voting Rights Attacked

cont. from page 3

many of these decisions to change the face of elected office in the US.

Elliot Mincberg of People for the American Way has said, "The court's decisions... are a major dissappointment. They are a continuation of the rollback of civil rights we've seen," under the court of Chief Justice William Rehnquist.

Justice Blackmun in his dissent wrote, "The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was bold and ambitious legislation, designed to eradicate the vestiges of past discrimination and to make members of racial and language minorities full participants in American political life."

But as Malcolm X pointed out, Africans in the US are not really citizens - if they were the Civil Rights Legislation would not have to be passed every year, and the right to an effective ballot could not be destroyed simply by changing the people who sit on the Supreme Court.

End Cuba Embargo

cont. from page 3

New York Democrat, told a news conference.

Rangel is the author of a House bill co-sponsored by 34 other Democrats to lift the embargo on trade, communications and travel clamped in 1962, three years after Fidel Castro took power in a leftist revolution.

A Rangel aide said the embargo was costing the United States $6 billion a year in lost business opportunities.

The press briefing was part of a day of activities by a number of business, religious and Cuban-American groups who believe trade and other links will do more for democracy and human rights in Cuba than continued quarantine.

To counter their move, some Hispanic Caucus members who favor the embargo circulated a letter reminding their peers of Castro's "insane and oppressive policies."

"We need to press for international sanctions against Castro, not end our own embargo," said the letter signed by Ileana Ros-Lethtinen and Lincoln Diaz-Balart, Republicans of Florida, and Democrat Robert Menendez of New Jersey.

No one in the government was immediately available for comment, but President Clinton has supported sanctions on Cuba as strongly as his predecessors.

The renewed anti-embargo campaign coincided with moves in Canada and at the Organization of American States aimed at ending or relaxing sanctions against Cuba.

Ottawa [Canada, on] Wednesday said it was reviewing its ties with Havana amid press reports it would lift its 16-year old ban on aid to the country later this month. The assistance would go to help non-governmental organizations. At the OAS annual assembly in Brazil, Canada called earlier this week for Cuba to be accepted back into the regional forum from which it was suspended in 1962. So did Brazil and other nations, as well as OAS outgoing Secretary-General Joao Baena Soares.

African People's Market

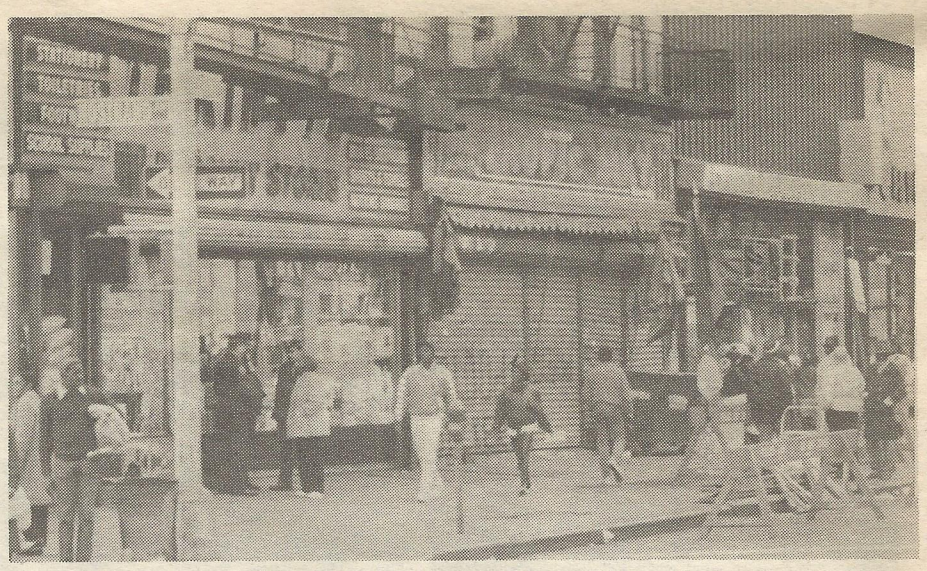
cont. from page 5

daughter with a knife. When the police came, they manhandled both women out of the store under threat of arrest; none of the Korean workers present were similarly treated or brought down to the precinct, not even for basic questioning. When the dust settled, no one was arrested and the legal right of the women in question to file a complaint against the grocers was bypassed.

Shortly thereafter, the December 12th Movement, a Brooklyn-based activist organization, led what became an entrenched and successful community boycott of Tropical Fruits, eventually forcing that business to close down at an estimated loss of $300,000 in business loans. This particular boycott was one of several African American community attempts throughout the city to redress their mistreatment of shoppers at the hands of recent arrivals from eastern and western Asia who had come with their own cultural baggage and who appeared to have adapted too quickly to the presumptions of white racism.

While the immediate problem of one abusive grocer had been directly addressed, the larger issue of economic relations inside the African American communities also required attention. Along Fulton Street, the main shopping center of Bed-Stuy, as in every African American and Latino community in this city, the overwhelming majority of businesses are owned and operated by outsiders to those communities who themselves remain at the mercy of real estate owners charging outlandish rents, thus forcing these entrepreneurs to mark up prices against their Caribbean and African American customers.

In addressing these issues, the December 12th Movement and the Harriet Tubman/Fannie Lou Hamer Collective followed up their successful boycott with a street corner Afrikan People's Farmer's Market. Their attempt has since become a model for the general Afrikan American community, first to demonstrate the selling fresh produce is not the exclusive terrain of any one ethnic group, and second, that starting and developing collectively owned businesses is not only easy to do, but as well, it is a vital imperative to community needs. The people who operate this market are clearly demonstrating to the youth that there are legitimate and psychologically healthier ways to turn a dollar than the quick slime of drug and gun trafficking constantly pushed on us all; they are putting into practice the Kwanzaa principles of Ujima (collective work), and of Ujamaa (cooperative economics), of Umoja (unity of action), and Kujichagulia (self-determination). None of the ten to twenty rotating individuals who operate the market are paid for their labor, yet each of them consistently donate their time, resources and often their money in order to make the market work until it grows into a full-fledged community business that offers up an alternative to standard price gouging, unfriendly businessfolk and hostile money grubbing.



Brooklyn: site of the boycott against Tropic Market

Under-selling all of their local competitors, they offer the best prices around for a variety of fresh fruits and melons, tubers and greens, tomatoes, peppers and natural fruit juices. The atmosphere is always warmly filled with familial greetings - "Good day to you, my brother; how are you sister..."

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Honecker Dead

cont. from page 4

system neither capitalist nor socialist but one guided by humanitarian principles and an era dedicated to meeting long neglected social needs.

Today the fruits of the "democratic" revolutions are apparent: a dramatic plunge in living standards; destruction of social protections; homelessness; the promotion of the black marketeer shark as the social ideal; the degradation of women; and a surge of national chauvinism and racism that fuel inter-ethnic violence, violence against foreigners, beatings, arson and the senseless carnage of civil war.

The new "democracy" in Europe outlaws the Communist Parties and harasses and persecutes those in former positions of responsibility in the socialist states. This included the attempted legal lynching of Erich Honecker who sadly and ironically languished in the very same prison in which he had been thrown by Hitler for his anti-fascist struggles in the 1930's. The real crime for which Honecker and his associates were prosecuted was his leadership for a new kind of German society, which despite all its faults placed working people at the center of the state's concerns, ended the iron control of the banks and large corporations and had guaranteed employment, free health and free education. The new

It is critical to stop the growing peril of fascism...

government under Honecker's leadership drew the wrath of the imperialist/colonialist vultures when it gave material and moral support in solidarity with national liberation struggles.

Also largely forgotten by many liberals and even those that call themselves socialist is the fact the leadership of the new united Germany was made up of many pro-Nazis who came into the post World War II government posts including the army, police and intelligence services. It is a fact that nearly 80% of these positions were filled by former Nazis. By contrast the GDR made a thorough purge of these swine...

It is vital for all truly progressive people to participate in the struggle against the criminalization of socialism. It is essential to defend the only system that gives power to the working class and oppressed peoples, instead of a small elite of exploiters....

At the same time it is critical to stop the growing peril of fascism. It must be challenged in the US as well where fascism is nourished in the fertile soil of a deeply rooted and pervasive institutionalized racism. The struggle against fascism and the criminalization of socialism here and abroad is part of the struggle for fundamental human rights.

Michael Dowd

Police Corruption

cont. from page 5

drugs. In 1989 he was one of three cops arrested for armed robbery, but he was not charged. In 1989 he was implicated in the corruption in the 75th Precinct in Brooklyn (labeled the "undercover crack house" by the Black Men's Movement Against Drugs because the police always responded to the dope dealers when demonstrators went to crack houses to shut them down.) Also in 1988 Dowd's union card was recovered from a criminal (note the police never called Dowd a criminal until he snitched on them.) In 1989 there were allegations of purchase and sale of drugs, drug dealing by his former partner, and more drug use and corruption in the 75th Precinct. In 1991 and 1992 he was accused of working for a drug ring. In 1992 he was accused of accepting liquor from a bar owner. But in 1992 he committed a crime - he supplied cocaine to a **Suffolk County** drug ring. He was arrested - obviously as long as the acts occurred in Black neighborhoods they were not crimes.

The culture of the Police Department where Dowd and many other Dowds exist "seems to lack a sense of commitment to combating corruption to the fullest extent," understated the commissioners.

As the report was being published more officers in Harlem's 30th Precinct were being indicted for dope dealing. These ten cops were known as "The Raiders"; a sergeant in this precinct is also being charged, the first supervisor arrested in the continuing police corruption probe. These cops particular assignment was to **be active, take drugs and guns off the streets. Instead,** [according to a Newsday article] **they made phony 911 calls and responded to them. They would break down the doors of dealers' apartments, and steal money, drugs and guns.** Interestingly, newspaper accounts do not report that the drugs and guns of course were then sold back on the street contributing to the anarchy that the Black community is indicted for. Oh yes, the Raiders also falsified arrest information by planting evidence and lying about where evidence was found. Will all the people serving jail time due to this criminal behavior be released? Offered retrials? Even have their sentences reduced?

What is the response of Mayor Giuliani and Police Commissioner Bratton to the Mollen Commission report and the ongoing corruption revelations?

Giuliani and Bratton proclaimed a new police strategy that would allow precinct captains to once again take command. That no longer would police officers hands be tied by unnecessary scrutiny and supervision by the Central Command. "Cops will no longer be passive - they can once again aggressively fight crime."

Watermelon Remarks

cont. from page 4

not racist. "You can interpret any way you want... it's a semantic game... subject to misinterpretation.

Dyson had written a memo before Giuliani's inauguration which was also misunderstood: he wrote that two white men had been running New York City for over two hundred years, so why was there any question as to whether they could relate to a multiethnic city. Dyson was also misunderstood when he said no mayoral cabinet meetings had to be held in Harlem because the community prospered under Mayor Dinkins.

Before Giuliani hired Dyson as a city employee, the millionaire had explained to upstate lawmakers that "I have the normal disregard for New York City that you do." Doubtless these are the qualities which inspired Adolf Giuliani to hire him.

HAITI

cont. from page 13

percent of all of Haiti's exports to the US. However, at the very time of this expansion in the assembly industry in Haiti, the real wage of the Haitian apparel worker were slashed by over 50 percent. Also, in 1993, the head of the Association of Haitian Industrialists, Raymond Lafontant, told National Labor Committee researchers that the value added in Haiti to these apparel exports was a mere 13 percent. Under the 807 tariff program, US-cut fabric enters duty-free into Haiti, where it is assembled and then shipped back to the US. On re-entry into the US, duty is assessed only on the value added in Haiti, namely is solely the cost of assembling the piece goods. According to Mr. Lafontant, Haiti's contribution to the total cost of the apparel exports was only 13 percent.

Returning to the 1989 figure of $180.9 million in apparel exports, Haiti's real contribution amounted to only $23.5 million, the rest was made up of US inputs. US assembly companies in Haiti (either US-owned or under contract) pay no taxes, either corporate or personal; and the materials they assemble enter and leave the country duty free. Rent in the free trade zone is approximately $2.25 per square foot per year. The companies--in violation of Haitian law--pay no health or pension benefits to their employees. Wages in the maquiladora plants are approximately (U.S.) $.14 per hour. In violation of CBERA and GSP trade benefit programs, internationally recognized worker rights in Haiti are being massively violated on a daily basis.

Abdul Haqq

cont. from page 17

Prison is rich in human resources. It is a mine full of fire in the minds and hearts of brothers and sisters. Our fire will reach the streets. It will wake up and motivate African students who are bored into early graves by alienated educators. A system whose unjust economic relations are responsible for the deaths of 14 million children in the world every year. Adolph Giuliani, Bill Clinton and other politicians are building prisons today in which to cage our babies in the future. Efforts are being made right now to save the babies. The Malcolm X/George Jackson Movement is such an effort. We are practicing the principles of self-reliance in a way that the right does not like, and we demand the educated fools to take their leprous hands off the minds of our youth!

Stay strong and forever unconquerable my beautiful, beloved African sisters and brothers.

Bro. Abdul Haqq
89T1710
Clinton Prison Main, Box 2001
Dannemora, NY 129292-2001

Free Abdul Haqq!

Organization of African Unity Summit 1994

The Organization of African Unity held its Ministerial Meeting in Tunis in June. This was the first time Tunisia has hosted the reunion of the heads of state of all of Africa and the first time that South Africa has been present.

President Nelson Mandela was warmly welcomed into the family of African nations. His election marked the end of the formal apartheid regime and as such the end of an era of colonialism on the continent.

Of course, the economies of Africa are still controlled to a large extent by the West and not the people. Several nations are embroiled in wars and skirmishes, many of the conflicts manipulated by the former colonial powers. Nonetheless, the formal ties of colonialism have been broken - now all Africans, on the continent and in the diaspora must struggle for the true liberation of Africa.

A ceasefire arrangement was negotiated with the factions in Rwanda, although that broke down. President Mandela talked of enforcing a peace in Lesotho. President Mugabe of Zimbabwe called for an African intervention force at the disposal of the OAU to enable them to respond to crisises such as Rwanda.

Coltrane Chimurenga and Viola Plummer, members of the December 12th International Secretariat attended the OAU meeting in Tunis as well as a conference on People Centered Development at Fort Hare in Alice, South Africa. The issue of development for the people will be discussed in next month's ATM.

Photos DR

Some of the founders of the OAU: to the left, Modibo Keita of Mali embracing Leopold Senghor of Senegal. In the middle, on top is Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and at the bottom Sekou Toure of Guinee. At right is Gamal Nasser of Egypt.

COLUMBIA

cont. from page 13

out African customs and practices among the 200,000 slaves, despite much evidence to the contrary. "We are invisible," said Black activist Alba Otilia Duenas de Perez in a recent NY Times article.

Politically prior to the recent reform they were also invisible. At a constitutional convention of "all Colombians" held in 1991, two seats were reserved for Colombia's 500,000 Indians, but none for the 5,000,000 Blacks.

This is starting to slowly change. "We aren't children anymore, we are organized," said the leader of a slum organization in the same NY Times article. "If the government does not have the political will to invest in our people, we will have to follow the lead of all the other groups in this country - turn to arms."

African People's Farmers Market

cont. from page 16

While a crew of mostly women tend to the customers browsing and shopping, another crew of mostly men keep security and host conversation, greeting and welcoming every passerby willing to stop for a moment and engage in political dialogue. In addition to fresh produce and activist conversation, there is always an information table inside and/or beside the tent with flyers announcing upcoming community events, or with newspapers, video tapes and beautifully designed t-shirts for sale.

As positive as this sounds, as necessary a model as it obviously appears, there's just one dual drawback - Mayor Rudolf Giuliani's anti-street vendor crusade and local police harassment of progressive activists. Allegedly acting on community complaints against the market, police officers from the 79th Precinct have been waging a campaign of intimidation against the African People's Farmer Market since late April. Their objective has been to shut the independent and collectively-owned market down, first by harassing the merchants, then by raiding the market and confiscating their produce and money, followed by a coordinated but failed raid to forcibly shut them down a second time.

The first phase of this police campaign began on Saturday, April 23. Police arrived, demanding to see proper licensing and ordering the merchants to pull down their tent as it was blocking street traffic. When the merchants complied, the police quietly left. This was repeated again on the following Saturday, April 30, only this time uniformed patrollers kept circling around throughout the day, looking for an excuse to shut the market down. Several local residents from the adjacent Halsey Street and Hancock Street Block Associations inquired about the obvious harassment and committed themselves to initiating petitions on behalf of these community merchants. Between then and the following week, an attempt to solicit support from the local Community Board was made by local residents along with members of the Afrikan People's Farmer Market. While no official resolution was immediately forthcoming from the Community Board, verbal support was given at its May meeting.

On Saturday, May 7, a contingent of police descended upon the market and ordered the volunteer workers to shut the market down. Without allowing for much conversation, police proceeded to close it down themselves, confiscating an estimated $500.00 worth of produce and $250.00 in cash. Later that day, members of the market were given a receipt for the produce, but not for the cash. They were told that the produce had been donated to an unnamed local church but that no one knew anything about the missing cash.

Immediately following this first raid, the December 12th Movement called for a public demonstration at the site for the following Saturday, May 14. That day, the entire square block was surrounded by police. No less than three police vans, three additional unmarked vans, one mobile command unit and an estimated total of 32 uniformed and plainsclothed officers with guns and badges clearly visible were stationed all around Halsey Street to the north, Arlington Street to the west, and directly opposite the market on Nostrand and Macon. They were poised and ready.

But the community poured out in support of this Black-owned market. Armed with a loudspeaker and a gathering crowd of more than 125 local residents, representatives from the December 12th Movement began their rally at 9 A.M., erected their tent and opened up for business in spite of the police presence. The morning session, filled with speakers, chants, poetry and taped music playing over the speaker system, proved embarrassing to the police. With all the crack houses they could have been closing down, here they were, out in full force, ready to raid a fruit and vegetable stand, arrest, hurt and maim a group of people trying to offer their own community a decent model for self-determination. Yet the cops were stopped by the strong presence of residents who cared and local shoppers who would not be intimidated. By mid-afternoon, it was clear to the police brass sitting in their command post that the consequences of raiding this particular market were greater than the satisfaction of vamping on activists.

Since May 14th, the Afrikan People's Farmer's Market has continued its operations unmolested by police. But nothing has been made clear as to its future. It is a nebulous, uneasy truce that they've imposed upon the police, where at any given moment the market could be raided again. The December 12th Movement and the Harriet Tubman/Fannie Lou Hamer Collective need more than spontaneous support after the fact. They require a directive from Afrikan American and Latino communities throughout the city that would in effect order the police to cease and desist from any further harassment.

If you are reading this article and agree with the importance of the model that these merchant-activists are offering our communities, take the time to send a copy of this article to Gary Byrd at Radio Station WLIB, 801 Second Avenue, New York, New York and ask Gary to announce your support for the Afrikan People's Farmer Market over the air.

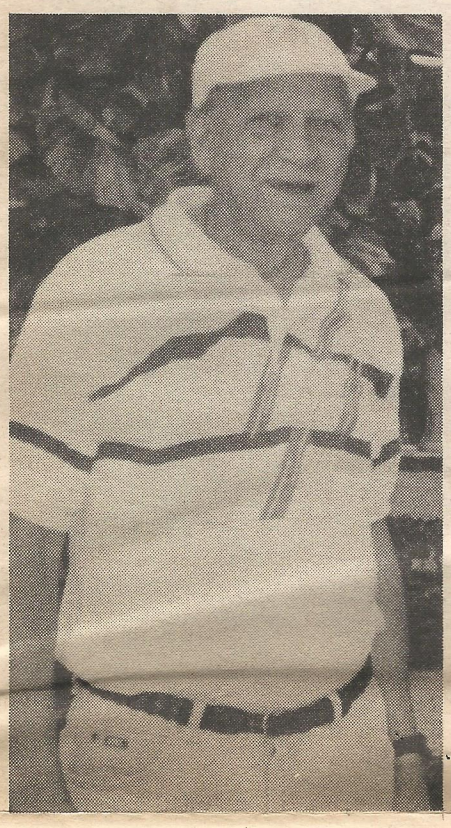
Letters To The Editor

View From the Field...

Malcolm X in his classical presentation of class struggle within the Black Nation, characterizes his status as a "Field Negro;" a part of the masses of Black people whose relationship to the slavemaster was the sting of the lash.

It is this viewpoint and support ATM welcomes and encourages. From you in the racist schools to the penal colonies, from the barracks of American mercenary troops to the death houses called hospitals.

From the wretched of the Earth...



The Harriet Tubman / Fannie Lou Hamer Collective Offers

A Father's Day Gift

A Season Ticket to the New York Knicks

Drawing held

Saturday, June 18, 1994

African People's Farmers Market

Raffle Winner Jubilant - Prize is a Season Ticket to the Knicks
The Harriet Tubman-Fannie Lou Hamer Collective held a raffle drawing to raise funds for travel to the UN Conference on Development, being held in Cairo, Egypt in September 1994. Billy Harris won the prize - a season ticket to the New York Knicks basketball games for the 94-95 season.

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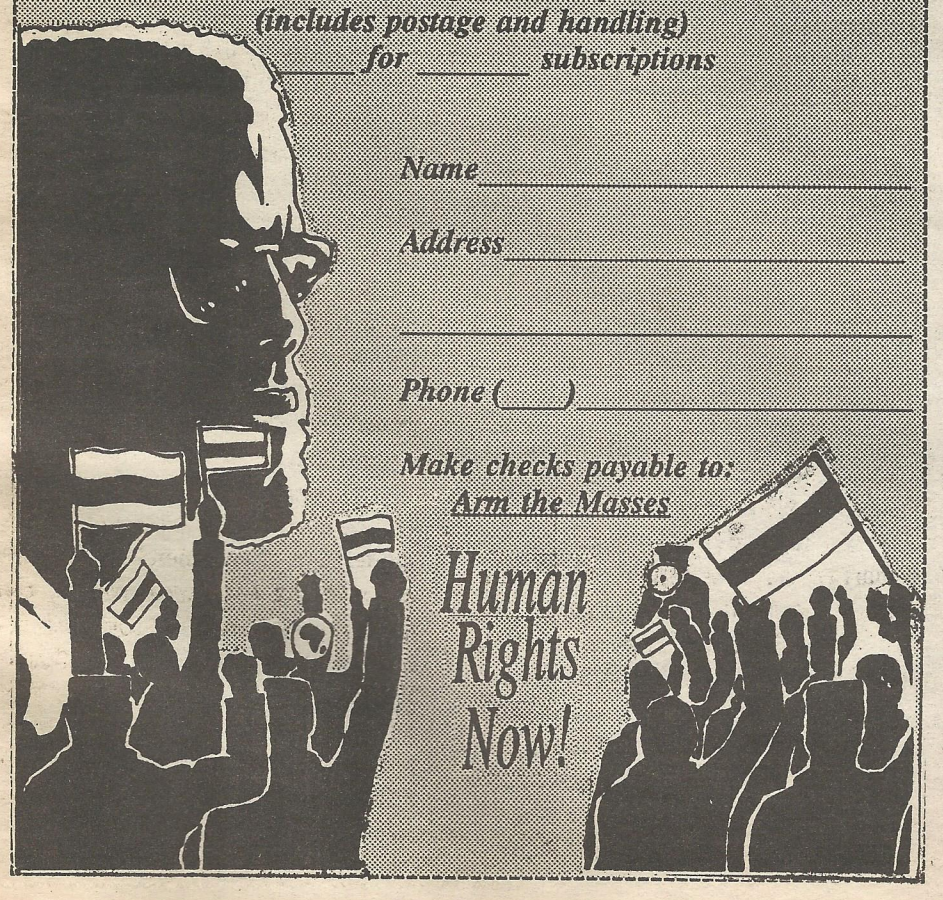

Most Glorious, most merciful, most highest
May peace and blessings be upon all the brothers and sisters forever...

Dear Arm the Masses,

I have been enlightened to a new insight through your publication.

I would like to thank you for enlightening me. Now I have become more aware of our people's struggle...

There's so much I still need to learn and know and i welcome any information you can send me... concerning revolution!

I don't have that much education but I plan on furthering that too. At the moment I [am] lock downed for 120 days but as soon as my keep lock time is up I am putting in for school...

Derrick Johnson
90T1663
Dannemora, NY 12929

Power to the People who don't fear freedom
As Salaam Alaikum,

I trust that this brief missive will discover you and yours in the strongest of Black spirits and the soundness of Afrikan mind, body and soul; as I continue to remain strong, militant and defiant while physically trapped in the foul bowels of this concrete insanity!

Comrades in arms, the enclosed material is an excerpt of a pamphlet I'd written entitled: Poverty Crime and Government: (The Other Secret War). At present it is being reviewed by the publisher Jawanza Kunjuful, whenever it gets published I do intend to send you and yours a copy. Also I would appreciate any and all material pertaining to the December 12th Movement. I was just recently given the opportunity to read ATM. We have limited access to reading material at Pelican Bay, especially material of a revolutionary nature. I have spent the last 11 years in solitary confinement, which is basically due to my political/military affiliation but as a New Afrikan Revolutionary guerrilla I refuse to allow my confinement to impose limitations on my ability to serve my Black people. Do acknowledge the receipt of this material - asante - I bid you much Black respect, Love and solidarity!

Your beloved Black brother
Abdul
In constant armed struggle
N.A.R.N.P.

Many of the white experts, from the psychologist to the criminologist, have tried to minimize, if not totally deprecate, the role of poverty and its contribution to the proliferation of crime within the Black communities. Their reasons for doing so are numerous, but before I expound on those reasons, the role of poverty must first be examined.

What has yet to be discussed in the historical significance of poverty as it pertains to the Black collective, as well as its deliberate imposition on our ancestors. We live in a capitalistic society, which means its growth and development is dependent on the accumulation of material wealth. The system of slavery provided America with a very productive capital surplus which facilitated white American endeavors to accumulate a vast reservoir of material wealth. After the so-called Emancipation Proclamation, as well as during the system of slavery, many laws were designed specifically to prevent Black People from accumulating material wealth, e.g. it was illegal to educate a slave. In most parts of the country, it was illegal for Black people to own property, and this was the beginning of the deliberate, systematic application of poverty....

Abdul O. Shakur
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Crescent City, CA 95532

Mail all letters to:
ATM - 28 Vesey St., Suite 2298, NY, NY 10007

Olive Armstrong, pictured above, is the author My Trip to Cuba. In last month's ATM the picture used was wrong.

The Masses United for Human Rights presents a program on:
Somalia: Bringing Aidid To the United Nations
Wednesday, July 27, 1994
Harlem State Office Building
This program starts the Masses United campaign to bring General Mohammad Farah Aidid to the United Nations to describe the results of the so-called humanitarian intervention in Somalia.

Build the National Liberation Front!

Liberate the Internal Colony of 40 Million Africans!